

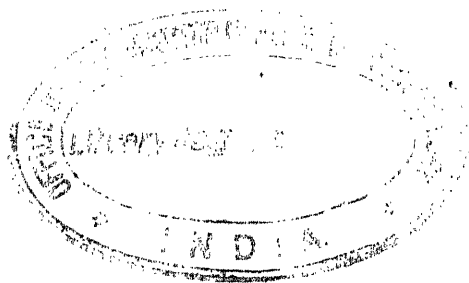
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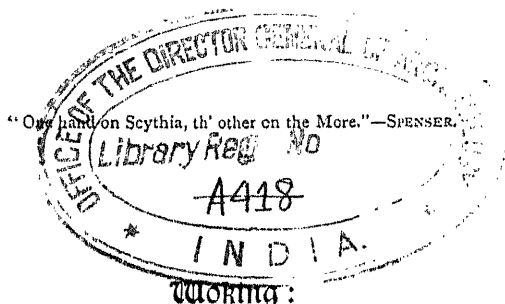
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THE IMPERIAL *A 600*
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review, *300*
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1909.

INDIA: THE COMPANY AND THE CROWN.

BY H. G. KEENE, C.I.E., HON. M.A. (OXON).

THE administration of British India by the Court of Directors of the East India Company and their servants is past, and admits of being treated with the impartiality proper to ancient history.

The members of the Civil Service were selected and trained with no particular reference to their general fitness for employment, so that the laws of chance naturally produced the usual division of good, bad, and indifferent. The good were exceedingly good, more than one having obtained reputations which extended beyond local limits. The bad, on the other hand, were very bad, lazy and self-indulgent. Thackeray, who was born in India, has shown one of them in the character of Jos. Sedley, though he is far from asserting that the Collector of Boglywallah is a type of the whole body. The average members of that body no more resembled Mr. Sedley than they did Elphinstone, Metcalfe, John Lawrence, or Bartle Frere; being merely ordinary English gentlemen fond of an outdoor life, who stalked tigers, speared hogs, walked over the fields with their guns, or rested in a mango grove surrounded by the village elders. European ladies were rare, their place being often temporarily filled by native females; and the District Officers were not oppressed by routine work, or absorbed

in sedentary occupations. A few there were from time to time who devoted a portion of their leisure to study; and something like universal recognition was gained by Colebrooke, Hodgson, John Muir, and Henry Elliot, worthily followed in later days by men such as Temple and Sir Alfred Lyall. But such men were exceptional, and if we would judge of the part played by the old Civil Service, we must look rather to the men of outdoor habits and their influence on public opinion. Those few who can remember the days before the Mutiny will be ready to admit that the District Officers of that period were by no means unpopular, as was indeed abundantly shown by the ease with which they encountered their trying crisis.

This system—rough and ready as it may perhaps appear—dates from the first attempt made to found a system of internal administration independent of Parliamentary efforts to establish a British Indian Constitution. Thus, when Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General, a Supreme Court of Judicature was established to administer the law of England as it then existed; and there is an old anecdote which, whether or no it be founded on fact, vividly illustrates the spirit with which the Court entered on its work of correcting maladministration. The story is to the effect that as the newly landed judges were being carried from the ghât across the Maidan to their residences, the Chief Justice called from his palki to the learned brother at his side, as he pointed to the scantily clad bearers: “Ah! brother Hyde, our Court will have but ill-fulfilled its mission if in the course of a few months every one of these poor fellows shall not be provided with a substantial pair of stockings.” The labours of the Court may not have had this precise result; but their doings in some such direction are known to all who read Macaulay’s *Essays*, and other not less accessible records. Beginning by hanging the most prominent member of the community for an offence which locally went little, if at all, beyond the ordinary habits of business, the Judges proceeded to establish

a reign of terror in Bengal, which nothing but the most vigorous measures of an exceptionally able Government could have brought to a termination.

The tendency of the Judges to extend the powers of the Court into the regions of local law was again manifested in the succeeding generation by the Supreme Court of Bombay, who persisted in issuing writs beyond the limits of their appointed jurisdiction, the Chief Justice declaring from the Bench that he acknowledged no superior but God and the King, and that the East India Company and its local officials would meet with no more deference at his hands than would the meanest suitor.

On the matter becoming known in London, the President of the Board of Control, as the Minister for Indian affairs was then termed, unhesitatingly negatived the assumption, but it had sufficed to show a serious risk involved in the attempt to introduce the institutions of the West into an Eastern country.* From this risk, indeed, the India of those early days was saved by the firmness of its rulers; but it was not long before the rulers themselves became infected with the same spirit. Some exception must doubtless be made in favour of certain abuses which no British rulers could ultimately tolerate. Such was, notably, the cremation of Hindu widows on the funeral piles of their deceased lords—a practice the abolition of which was felt to be dictated by common humanity, and no opposition was made by the leaders of Hindu society. But apart from such rare cases, and the substitution of the uncrowned head of William IV. with an English superscription on the coinage, no further change showed itself, unless, indeed, the change of style from “Regulations” to “Acts” be so considered. All these changes, however, caused no apparent disturbance in the public mind, though they were

* Even in recent times a learned Judge of the High Court of Calcutta declared that the overthrow of the Mogul authority in Bengal had created a forensic vacuum, into which English law had rushed as if by an operation of nature.

certainly not without significance. Lord Wellesley, when in the early years of the nineteenth century he destroyed the Franco-Maratha power in Hindustan, seemed to do no more than substitute the East India Company as viceroy of the Mogul Empire, and for half a century the people at large probably regarded British administration in some such light. Indeed, it is within the recollection of the present writer that proclamations by the public crier were introduced by that official in some such formula as the following :

“The land is God’s, the Sovereignty is the Emperor’s, the administration is the Company’s.”

When, in 1857, the so-called Emperor endeavoured to make his position actual, and had induced the Bengal Army to acknowledge his claim, the movement was heralded by a prediction that the Company’s administration would terminate with the centenary of Plassey. The prediction was fulfilled, though not in a sense desired by its utterers ; the administration of the Company was indeed terminated, but only to make way for that of the King and Parliament, in whose name the Company had always professed to rule. Then occurred an event similar to that of which the provinces of Rome were the scene when Augustus Cæsar took them under his direct sway. The provincials, it may be remembered, complained that the troops sent for their protection were accompanied by Roman tax-gatherers and Roman lawyers ; the provinces did not revolt against this grievance at the time, but it showed some germs of eventual disruption. In the assumption of the direct management by the Crown, High Courts of Judicature were established in India with British Chief Justices, and a cloud of barristers settled on the bar of these Courts, and even on that of some local tribunals. A Financial Minister was sent out from the London Treasury who instituted new and unpopular imposts, and European principles and laws were gradually introduced which gave the administration of India an European bias. An important step in this direction was

the foundation of universities in every Presidency town, not universities in the English sense of the word, but rather Boards for the examination of youths from certain affiliated schools, which, though termed colleges, had none of the attributes of a college at Oxford or Cambridge; neither fellows, chapel, rooms, gates, nor any implements of discipline. It must not be supposed that in describing this cheap travesty of Western ways any disparagement of those ways is intended; still less is it meant to suggest that they are too good for the people of India.

Nothing can be too good for that industrious and law-abiding population which can tend to augment the general welfare. But that welfare will not be augmented by forcing native society into foreign moulds; principles and practices which have grown up in hundreds of centuries cannot be profitably altered in a few years, especially when there is no alteration in the surroundings.

The so-called Government of India by the Crown is actually the dominion of the House of Commons, and that dominion ultimately rests upon the will of the constituencies, which are at present simply democratic. Now, the democracy of Britain is essentially honest and generous, but is not likely to have either the desire or the leisure to master the facts of a remote dependency; those who accept the statements here offered will have little difficulty in identifying the conditions which have made the scientific efforts of the later period less endurable than the somewhat free and easy methods of an earlier time. It should never be forgotten that we owe to the two most illustrious servants of John Company* the declaration that India cannot be held, permanently, without a liberal employment of Indian officials. Obviously this policy could only be introduced by degrees; in the earlier years of the nineteenth century it was natural—almost unavoidable—that the Court of Directors should search for trustworthy agents, and find

* Sir Thomas Munro and the Hon. M. Elphinstone, respectively Governors of Madras and Bombay in the days of Lord Hastings.

them in their own countrymen and kinsfolk. In most parts of Hindustan, for instance, British supremacy was accepted by the bulk of the population as a beneficial substitute for Marathi misrule and Pindari rapacity. Even after the suppression of the Mutiny it was still necessary to assert that supremacy ; but with the establishment of law and order, this became less cogent. Lord Lytton was the first to perceive the alteration, and although his particular scheme may not have proved a permanent success, yet in other ways many posts formerly reserved for the imported civilians have now fallen to the share of Hindus and Moslems educated in the country. That this should have begun before the present outbreaks of sedition and murder is sufficient proof that it was not due to intimidation. Englishmen and Scotchmen are not easily frightened into courses of which they do not approve, as should be abundantly clear in the case of Ireland, where, in spite—perhaps in consequence—of a century of disaffection and outrage, the Act of Union is not yet repealed. The leaders of the present movement in India are by no means devoid of intelligence, and it may be hoped that with a persistent attention to justice on the part of their rulers, and an improved discipline in the affiliated colleges, public opinion will ere long assume a wise and salutary direction.

Various theories are from time to time propounded regarding what is politely called the “unrest,” its causes, and its cure. But the great difficulty arises from the very torpid action of Indian public opinion. In England the right-thinking classes exercise a continual pressure ; speeches in Parliament and at public meetings in town and country, joining with constant contributions to newspapers and other periodicals, put both sides of every question temperately before the people, and the result is seen in quiet progress and reform. In India there is little of all this ; the respectable classes are indeed a large majority, who tacitly acknowledge the benefits of British administration. But they are content to take it for granted, absorbed

in their own affairs, or in abstract contemplation. To them European industrialism is but a bustling and irksome solecism, and it would be as unreasonable to expect them to strengthen the hands of Government as it would be to ask St. Simeon to descend from his pillar and proceed to Birmingham for the purpose of discussing with Mr. Chamberlain the prospects of Tariff Reform.

It is this incompatibility of ideals which causes discontent amongst the young and active Hindus, and leads the more serious and respectable of them to regard the manifestations of discontent with benevolent indifference. If this be admitted, it must follow that all attempts to introduce the methods of the West are likely to end in worse than failure.

The subjoined figures taken from the latest official report will serve to show that the Indian "Home Charges" form a legitimate part of the Empire's expenses, being no more than remuneration for services past and present:

Home charges charged to revenue are $19\frac{1}{4}$ millions in 1906-1907.

Of these about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions are for stores.

„ „ $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions for civil pay and pensions.

„ „ $9\frac{3}{4}$ millions, interest.

„ „ $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, army (active).

„ „ $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, army (retired).

$18\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

$9\frac{3}{4}$ millions are payment for money.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ millions are payment for stores.

$6\frac{1}{4}$ millions are payment for men.

These considerations will doubtless receive full weight when details are matured for giving effect to the royal announcement made on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the introduction of Parliamentary Government.*

The result of that gracious message must depend upon

* See the text of this announcement elsewhere in this *Review*.—ED.

the manner in which it is carried out. Were the effect to be mere topsy-turveydom and precipitate revolution, nothing but mischief could follow, especially if representative institutions were to include the power of the purse. If, on the other hand, the document were to become the mere expression of good intentions, encouragement would necessarily be afforded to those critics who contend that no benefit has been conferred on India by the proclamation of 1858. His Majesty not being one of those monarchs whose words and actions are independent of the concurrence of his responsible advisers, it must be assumed that we have here an indication that self-government may ultimately be established in India, subject to such conditions as may be found essential.

Two, at least, of these stand out in the light of experience. A native representative body will not be allowed to tamper with the sources of public revenue, though its advice and opinion will always be received with respect. Thus, for example, it would not be safe to permit any rash experiments with the time-honoured settlement, by which the land is nationalized, and the people spared from taxation to the extent of many millions of pounds sterling; and not only must the home charges be punctually defrayed, but there must be no substantial reduction in the military establishment, by which crime and disorder are prevented and the country safeguarded from foreign aggression. Other items will suggest themselves to experts, in regard to which injudicious retrenchment might commend itself to the favour of a popular assembly. Subject to such cautions, the fullest measure of autonomy will not be too much to ensure the administration of an Eastern land on Oriental lines.

THE INDIAN STUDENT IN ENGLAND.*

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.

Hon. Secretary of the East India Association.

THE records of this Association show that from very early days the question how best to help "the Indian student in England" was one which engaged the sympathetic attention of many of our members.

Thus in 1869 the Hon. Henry Stanley read a paper on the necessity for establishing in London a "Musafir Khana," or guest-house, for the accommodation of Asiatics who come to England, and he insisted that as a great Asiatic power the British Government was in duty bound to provide some such Oriental accommodation. He pointed out that the "Musafir Khanas," or guest-houses, at Cairo and Constantinople were Government establishments, presided over by officials who received an allowance for the entertainment of each guest, and that even the French Government had established in the Champs Elysées a guest-house for foreigners from Morocco and other Eastern countries, although the French Government had much fewer occasions to make use of such a house than the British Government, whose relations with the East were much more extensive and multiplied. He admitted that Government might entertain its guests in hotels, but urged that through dependence on hotels Government would be put to much greater expense, and the guests would lose the satisfaction of feeling themselves the guests of the State—a feeling which could not be conveyed by a billet on an hotel. When I recall how disconcerted the Indian representative guests of the Crown—whom I had the honour of conducting at the Coronation—were, when they found themselves housed in hotels here in London, and provided with one-horse shays or coupés as Royal guests, I cannot but appreciate

* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

the truth of the Hon. Mr. Stanley's contention. After all, there is a sentiment in these matters which ought to be revered, and which the British Government can well afford to respect.

An interesting debate followed on Mr. Stanley's paper, and it was suggested that if a State rest-house could not be provided, at any rate a State "Mihmandar" should be appointed to make arrangements suitable to the habits and customs of Asiatic visitors, due regard being paid to their caste, religion, etc. This suggestion has been adopted to a certain extent, and the A.D.C. to the Secretary of State now discharges some of the duties of a "Mihmandar." But of course the A.D.C. cannot be expected to extend his kind attentions to all Indian students in England, and for these it was at one time proposed to found a special guest- or rest-house in connection with an Oriental Institution.

Sir Henry Sumner Maine had in 1868 drawn up a scheme in which the advantages of such an Institution in or near London had been pointed out. Our late Chairman, Sir Lepel Griffin, took the greatest interest in this undertaking. Eventually Dr. Leitner, the Principal of the Lahore Government College, completed the purchase of the Royal Dramatic College at Maybury for the purposes of an Oriental University, Museum, and Free Guest-house. This guest-house was distant some thirty minutes by fast train from Waterloo Station, thus enabling students who desired to attend the Inns of Court, hospitals, or colleges to do so daily as conveniently and as quickly as if they resided in a London suburb. The rest-house was so arranged that the most fastidious Brahman could cook his own food and follow his religious or caste usages without interference. One wing was set apart for Hindus and Sikhs and the other for Mahomedans. Dr. Leitner contended that in the very interests of a higher civilization we should make provision in this country for the visits of our Mahomedan and Hindu fellow-subjects in a manner which would not wound their religious or social suscepti-

bilities. A pious Mahomedan or Hindu is, as a rule, a better man and a better citizen than one who has earned a cheap reputation for civilization by eating pork or beef, or drinking beer or brandy. And it was for such pious students that Dr. Leitner's rest-house was primarily intended. But though the liberal views and the generous motives with which Dr. Leitner founded the Institute seemed to be generally recognized, the scheme did not receive sufficient support.

Now, I think that I personally can claim some special knowledge of "the Indian student in England," and of his ways of life and line of thought here. My knowledge of him began forty years ago, when I became acquainted with Bihari Lal Gupta and Romesh Chunder Dutt, who passed the "ordeal dread" with me in 1869. I also, at the same time, made the acquaintance of Surendranath Bannerjee of Calcutta, Thakur of Bombay, and Anandorum Borooah of Bengal. We often used to hold debate together, and discuss all kinds of questions, political and religious; but my special friends were Gupta and Dutt, and two nicer or higher-minded young fellows it would be difficult to meet. They were, of course, both well-read, and possessed "the philosophic mind." They were also poets ("minor poets"), and "sweetly could they make and sing." They were the first to reveal the East to me; and on their tour through Ireland I, in turn, endeavoured to show them something of the true West. I remember they were mobbed at Mullingar by an admiring and demonstratively curious, or curiously demonstrative, Irish crowd. These two sons of Bengal were genuine favourites wherever they went. They lived in lodgings (as we all did in those days), but they had many friends (and Dutt, I remember, had relations) in London. Their landladies used to gush over them, as landladies always will do, and they were exposed to the usual latch-key allurements, but they did not stay out late. They had come to England to work, and work they did with a will, and the most exacting parent could not desire better-behaved sons. They proved how possible it is for Indian youths far away from home to keep

perfectly straight amidst all the temptations and distractions of a foreign metropolis, and when I re-read some of their old letters, pleasant memories come flashing back upon me of "times when I remember to have been joyful and free from blame." On reaching India I became acquainted with many fathers who consulted me, even in those early days, about sending their sons home to England, and I then realized what tremendous sacrifices these self-denying parents were often called upon to make in order to send their boys "home," and to secure for them a good education.

Later on, I renewed my acquaintance with the "Indian student" under the auspices of Miss Manning, whose name will ever be gratefully cherished, and who will long be remembered as one of the best and kindest friends the youth of India ever had. I am sorry to say I never was a very active member of the National Indian Association, but many a time and oft has Miss Manning consulted me about individual cases, and I hope I was able to be of some assistance.

But it was, perhaps, during the many years in which I was "eating dinners" at the Temple that I got to know the Indian student best. At these dinners I generally contrived to form one of a quartette of Indians or Internationals, and I remember that for several evenings one of the quartettes consisted of a Chinaman (subsequently Chinese Ambassador in London), a Boer, a Bengali, and myself—rather a mixed crew. After dinner we frequently adjourned to the Common Room, or to the Hardwicke or Union Societies, where high debate used to be held, and where, of course, I ceased to be regarded as "an Indian official," and was therefore talked to pretty freely. It was impossible not to admire and sympathize with many of the fine, manly, able young fellows I met on these occasions. Of course I met a few undesirables or ne'er-do-wells; but, on the whole, the tone of the Indian students of the Middle Temple was in every way worthy of the best traditions of that ancient Inn. They were, most of them, self-respecting

youths who expected to be respected, and who were respected, by their fellow-students. The majority of them were total abstainers, and many of them, while dining at the common table, contrived to remain vegetarians. Would that these examples in abstaining from strong drink had been followed more closely by some of their successors! Formerly these Indians used to mix freely with students of all nationalities, but latterly, I regret to say, I have noticed a certain constraint and aloofness, and this aloofness, I fear, is growing more marked on the side of the Indians than on that of the Europeans, so that it has almost become necessary to half-apologize for one's colour. I have been asked at the Inns of Court what has caused this change, and some people seem to think that the class of Indian students who now come to England is not the same as of old; but this is not so. The classes are the same, but mischief-makers have been abroad, and the manners have changed, and I, for my part, think the time has come for the mending of manners on both sides. Indians are readily responsive to sympathy, but they are chilled by an icy manner, and depressed by a lofty, condescending attitude. There are few things they secretly resent more than the "haw-haw" tone, the curl of the contumelious lip, and the "stony stare." On the other hand, Englishmen find it difficult to tolerate anything that resembles aggressiveness, self-assertiveness, or bounce, and they have little patience with undue loquacity and what they regard as unctuous ambiguities. The Briton certainly possesses in a marked degree the spirit of fair play, but he needs further education in respect for the manners and customs of others, in tolerance for opinions opposed to his own, in manly considerateness for, what Lord Amphil calls, "the fantastic ambitions of youth," and in appreciation of the growing public spirit of his Indian fellow-citizens. As Mr. Thorburn has well said: "Every broad-minded and reasonable Englishman must sympathize with the reasonable aspirations of our Indian fellow-subjects." But for Indians in the present state of their country to give themselves

independent airs or to talk of separation from Great Britain is simply suicidal, and to coquet with such nonsense, seeing that many people, and especially young students, are misled thereby, is the essence of insane rebellion, to be repressed in mercy to millions even at the expense of illustrious examples. Every thoughtful man, however, must admit that there is much to be set right in our methods of government in India. Lord Lytton rightly considered that it was the duty of England to give India the best possible government, and he held that the very best possible government was exclusive government by the very best Englishmen it was possible to secure. But the view now being forced to the front is that India does not require or desire this "best possible." It would prefer a second best or even third best, and I think my friend Dadabhai Naoroji once went so far as to declare that the worst form of native government was to be preferred to the best British.

But, be that as it may, it is quite clear that British domination must, in the best interests of India herself, continue for many generations to come, and one of the most important questions now is how best to serve the Indian students who come to this country, and enable them to best serve their native land on their return thereto. There are some people who think that it is desirable to discourage the advent of such students, and if this be so, it ought to be possible to arrange (1) for calls to the Bar in India; (2) for the holding of examinations for the Services in India; and (3) for the highest technical and commercial education and training there.

In 1868 Dr. Leitner declared that however desirable it might be to send native officials of experience home at the expense of the Government, it was at best only a doubtful experiment, and one likely to cause reaction against native interests to send young students here. He proceeded to point out some of the dangers. He declared that with the single exception of the legal profession it was vain to hope that native youths would prefer professions

to Government service, for even superior minds had been known to prefer fixed to precarious incomes.

As to the moral and political effects of sending native youths to England, Dr. Leitner spoke out in no uncertain voice.

"Familiarity with our vice-stained classes in England," he declared, "will cause contempt for our civilization, which the native students on their return to India will not be slow to show. The youthful mind is the slave of appearances. The numerous Turkish youths, although belonging to a race as vigorous and honest as any in India, who have been trained in Europe, have in the majority of cases returned to their country with only a taste for champagne, kid gloves, and oaths, a use of the small-talk of infidelity, and an unmistakable tendency to libertinage. It would be sanguine to hope more from Indian youths, and I apprehend that even the best of them will be so much spoilt by the petting which they will receive at home as to fret under subordination and imaginary slights on their return to India."

He added: "I trust that the native students will not be relegated to country colleges or Universities. London, near which they should reside, alone of all cities in the world, gives a conception of size, diversity, and immensity which would not be lost on the native mind. In London are found the best teachers on all subjects; there are hospitals on a large scale, the great Courts of Law, the National and Indian museums and libraries, our Houses of Parliament, the great learned societies, engineering workshops, vast mercantile and industrial establishments, etc.—in fact, all that under proper guidance can impress the native students with the grandeur of our civilization. London also possesses a University and two colleges, King's College and University College, which offer special advantages to native students. King's College, above all, combines with strict discipline a liberality and exhaustiveness in all branches of knowledge, which, in my humble

opinion, places it in the first rank of educational institutions, and its Oriental Section can be easily amplified to meet the requirements of Indian students. The temptations, again, of London are as nothing when compared with its advantages; and it should not be forgotten that in London, where students generally live with their parents or in lodgings, there do not exist those associations among them for purposes of gambling, drinking, etc., and for engaging in profligate expense and amusements, dignified into national pursuits, to which the monotony of collegiate life in the country consigns even those who would not otherwise be affected by a prevailing atmosphere of fashionable extravagance."

But while things remain as they are, the question is, What can be done to reassure Indian parents who send their sons to this country to study, and what is the best way to help the young men themselves? Special temptations beset these young students, and I have been told of cases where innocent youths have fallen victims to the wiles of their own fellow-countrymen, who, having failed to pass their examinations, or to qualify themselves for any business or profession, have settled in this country, and laid themselves out to play the part of jackals and prey on their fellow-countrymen here. In other cases the students have been victimized by designing landladies and undesirable Europeans, and have been blackmailed unmercifully. This kind of thing cannot be altogether prevented, but the danger can be minimized. Students have often told me that their great difficulty has been in finding suitable and respectable lodgings, and it seems to me that the most important thing is to help the young students on their arrival in this country to find comfortable and respectable homes. They have also told me of the difficulty they experience in making the acquaintance of nice English people, and they ought certainly to be helped over this difficulty.

Hitherto, in spite of the diligent efforts of Miss Manning, Mrs. Besant, the late Mr. Ross Scott, and others, the

Indian student has often been "nobody's child"—"the common care that no one cared for." It may be that he himself does not care to be cared for; but, nevertheless, care is good for him, and it ought to be possible to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of good upper-middle-class families in providing this care. It is not good for the Indian student, or for us, that he should fall into the hands of designing persons here in England, and be victimized misled and depraved socially morally or politically. No true friend desires to "Anglify" or "Englishize" him, but it is most desirable that such care should be taken of him that he may return to India a broader-minded man and a better citizen in consequence of his stay amongst us.

The desirability of providing a "Residential Club" for Indian students has been urged, and if anything in the nature of hostels in connection with the Inns of Court could be arranged it would no doubt be a help, but just at present much must be left to private and non-official agency. The youths themselves would (certainly and not unnaturally) resent anything in the shape of official supervision, just as young officers in the army would resent the formation of a "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to, or for the Protection of, Young Officers"; and it cannot be denied that the tendency of the Indian youth in London of to-day is to skirt the "active" or "ex"-Official. But, as has been well said in the *Times* the other day, the provision of a really convenient centre, where Indian and English friends could be met, would be heartily welcomed by the many young Indians who are ready and anxious to do well while in England, and who, to their honour be it said, often succeed in resisting the influences by which they are assailed.

I fear that of recent years the Indian student in England has been getting a bad name, and finds it increasingly difficult to get into good schools and colleges. I know something of what is said nowadays by Dons and Tradesmen in

Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and here in London ; but I maintain the many are suffering for the sins of the few. I therefore claim for the Indian student a fairer field and all the favour we can well afford to give. It is a mistake to talk of a conquering and conquered race, or to dwell on racial antipathies antagonisms or prejudices. India was never conquered by the English—India was won! She was not subdued by the sword, by the bayonet, or by the thunder of artillery, nor is she so held. Might I say she was won by the winning ways of the English, by the tactful thoughtfulness and ready sympathy of the Irish, by the “dour” determination of the Scot? No! she was won because her peoples gradually recognized that “the blended race” possessed qualities denied to her own rulers ; and thus she readily acquiesced in, what I may call, “the destiny of the great Merge.” We may or may not be the absolutely superior people. For my own part, when I note the plumed and towering expansions of the modern European bonnet or matinee hat, I recognize in the graceful *sari* the sign and symbol of superior civilization ; and Sir Lepel Griffin held that, judged by any fair standard, the people of India are morally higher than we are. But we are where we are—rulers of Ind—by the grace of God, and by virtue of qualities we undoubtedly possessed ; and thoughtful men, both in India and England, recognize that while in some ways we are superior to the Indians, they are in other ways superior to us, and that it is in the cordial recognition and frank acknowledgment of this simple truth that the higher interests of both really rest. We are each in mutual interdependence and correlation alternately—in different yet most essential aspects—stronger and weaker, lower and higher, than the other. Nay! it sometimes happens that our very strength and success may prove our essential weakness, and our very weakness our best element of strength. It is in this spirit I claim special consideration and sympathetic treatment for the Indian student in England. Things must be set right.

It might be possible to induce Indian students in England to range themselves in groups under selected captains, and to appoint governing bodies of their own, as is done in some schools and colleges in Great and Greater Britain.

Any movement to bring Indian students under the control of the India Office would of course be a mere "mechanical remedy." But, so far as I am aware, there is no such movement. We desire to draw closer the bonds of social intercourse between us and our Indian fellow-subjects, and we desire to serve the Indian student. If the India Office can help us to do this we shall be grateful, but to talk of "official control" would, to my mind, be a great mistake. "The patient removal of the causes of the present unsatisfactory and undesirable state of things" is what all true friends of the Indian student desire, and it is to invite suggestions on this very important subject that I have drawn up this brief paper.

I myself would suggest :

1. The entertainment of a certain number of recognized (and, if necessary, remunerated) "Mih-mandars."
2. The recognition of a non-official Council of Elders—heads of Indian families in London—as a consultative and controlling body.
3. The registration of "upper-middle-class" English families willing to receive Indians as paying guests or otherwise.
4. The provision of a central non-residential club where the three societies (the East India, the National Indian, and the Northbrook) might co-operate without coalescing or clashing.
5. The establishment of hostels in connection with the Inns of Court.
6. The discouragement of the undue influx of Indian students into England by encouraging them to remain in their own country.

7. Facilitating the advent to England of only those Indian youths who are likely to prove a success here, or to take full advantage of a University career.
8. An all round "mending of manners" in the spirit of His Majesty's gracious proclamation of November 2, 1908.

THE TRAINING OF POOR BRITISH CHILDREN IN INDIA.

BY R. CARSTAIRS.

I. EXPLANATORY.

IN the April number of this *Review* appeared a letter entitled "The British in India." The subject being of importance, the writer, with the Editor's permission, returns to it.

II. OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

By the grace of God, Britain rules in India. Is our Empire in India to last, or will it end?

Apart from outside influences, that depends on two things—the mind of Britain and the mind of India; of Britain, for it would be a simple, if a serious, step on our part to withdraw if so disposed; of India, for if India were agreed in wishing us to go it is unlikely that we should care for the task of holding her down by force. The game would not be worth the candle.

III. THE MIND OF INDIA.

There are agitators who seek to turn the mind of India against us. Though they make a noise, and attract attention, it is not easy to determine what support they have.

Half a million of irreconcilables would more than suffice to account for all the criminal and seditious words, acts, and writings that have been reported from all India. But the Hindoos of India are over 200 millions—the Brahmans alone number 15 millions—the Mussulmans are over 60 millions; while of other creeds there are 24 millions more.

Do the agitators voice the great heart of these almost inconceivably large masses of human beings, or do they only lead a stage crowd—numerous, well-drilled and noisy—but limited in number and unreal?

It is possible—the thing has been done before now—by persuading the Government that it is the wish of the people, and the people that it is the will of the Government, to gain the assent of both to what neither desires.

India does not wear her heart on her sleeve. There is, however, one significant fact. The present uneasiness has its ostensible cause in the partition, four years back, of the Province of Bengal. Unrest prevails, if anywhere, in that region. At the time of the last census, before the partition, Bengal had a population of 78 millions. It was garrisoned by a force of 9,000 men—soldiers, sailors, military police and followers included, one man for every 8,500 inhabitants—probably the smallest armed force, in proportion to population, ever known in a civilized country. In spite of unrest the garrison has not been increased, which indicates that the responsible authorities are not, so far, much alarmed for the safety of the State.

Nevertheless, sedition spreads its noxious doctrine by open and by secret methods, in town and village, in bazaar and zenana. Surely it ought to be checked. But how?

By suppression? Yes, when it shows itself; though treading on nastiness often only spreads it the wider.

By reforms? We all have our pet reforms. But while the trouble lasts we had better leave our administrators alone. It is ill snatching at the reins when the coach is in danger.

Yet we at home are deeply concerned in this matter, and many of us would fain do something. Is there anything that we can do? Indeed there is.

IV. INDIAN POLITICS.

They are playing a game of politics in India.

We know what politics is in this country—abuse of the other side, tempered by responsibility. In India the agitators are employing the abuse untempered by responsibility.

We hold India by our prestige. Our strength gives to

her freedom from foreign invasion and from internal war; our uprightness guarantees to her justice; our good-will insures to her generous help in time of need; our capacity that we shall manage with success her vast affairs.

India's belief in these our qualities is our prestige. This prestige the agitators would destroy, hoping thus to turn away from us the mind of India.

V. BRITAIN AND INDIA—THE LINK.

Britain and India, so far apart, yet linked together—how little they two see of one another!

The only human links that join them are the Indians who go to Britain and the Britons who go to India.

The Indians who go to Britain are few in number—mostly students and sailors—students who were not brought up in Britain, who do not intend to stay there, and who are, or ought to be absorbed while there in their special studies; sailors who see nothing of the land outside the ports they touch at. Owing to their small number and limited experience, Indian visitors to Britain are, as a body, of no great use to confirm our prestige. The Britons who go to India are for that purpose our main instrument.

VI. THE BRITISH IN INDIA.

The British community in India is a mixture of races, in which the British and foreign Europeans and the Eurasians are in proportion as 60, 6, and 34.

All the Eurasians, and a minority of the Europeans, are domiciled—that is, have their permanent home—in India.

The non-domiciled are of all sorts, from the flying tourist of a week to the resident who has lived his whole life in India.

The community is Christian—Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and all others, being as 57, 31, 4, and 8.

The three points, however, to which special attention is here asked are the number of the community, its resources, and the way in which its members make a living.

VII. AN OUTPOST OF THE NATION.

In our great self-governing colonies our country is represented by nations: in India by an outpost. Counting soldiers and sailors, all the Europeans and Eurasians in India number only about 250,000 souls, of whom 50,000 are women, and 70,000 children. The one effectual human link between Britain and India is as 1 to 164 of the former, and 1 to 1,150 of the latter.

To the world this is a miracle. When a nation on the one side of the world is ruling a population seven times more numerous than itself on the other, 250,000 souls—120,000 able-bodied men, of whom only 70,000 are soldiers—as an occupying force is ridiculous.

The secret is that this is not so much an occupying force as a connecting link by whose means the British nation is causing to work together in harmony for the common good of India vast forces which, without it, would be jarring and wasting one another and the land.

Our small number is an honour, not a reproach, to our nation; a strength, not a weakness, to our Indian Empire.

The community as a link—a conductor of influence—does not need size, but it must be good all through. There must be no rotten strands in the cable. Every man, woman, and child of our race in the country is a strand, and where the cable is so small there is great need of seeing that every strand is thoroughly sound.

VIII. A COMMUNITY OF POOR MEN.

The community is poor. Of the 120,000 breadwinners, 70,000 are soldiers; and we all know that the British soldier—officer or private—who has to live on his pay finds it hard to make ends meet. The same difficulty presses on the remaining 50,000, of whom the great part live from hand to mouth. The small minority who are able to save lay by little. Those of them who come home can seldom, unless they have private means, afford to keep a carriage or riding

horses, or to indulge in any of the luxuries of the rich in this country.

And this is honourable to our nation—a thing to be proud of. Roman pro-consuls of old went into the East, and returned in a year or two with vast possessions. British pro-consuls 150 years ago went to India, and came back—those who came back—still young men, laden with wealth.

The British pro-consul of to-day, after spending in India his whole active life, having grown grey in the conduct of great affairs, is deemed by his fellows fortunate if he can spend the evening of his days quietly in his native land. He has made no fortune for his children to inherit, and counts himself happy if he has been able so to train them that they can earn an honourable living by their own exertions.

IX. A COMMUNITY OF WORKERS.

“Service is no inheritance”; and service is the lot of the resident British in India—service under the State, or great companies, or private employers. Very few are their own masters working at their own business.

A man in service has to give good work if he is to get a good wage. The British worker in India needs not only strong limbs, but brains, character, energy, and skill. The cheapness of native labour has closed to him all the lower grades of employment; and in all grades, even the highest, he is exposed to fierce competition. He cannot, like our kinsfolk in the Colonies, occupy and live by the land, for the land is already occupied.

His is an artificial life, and in addition to his natural powers, however great, he needs the sound training, without which he cannot rise; is almost sure to sink; and may go on sinking till he ends as a pauper or a loafer.

As ours is a community of workers, from the point of view of our prestige it is highly desirable that they should be thoroughly good and efficient workers.

It is creditable to our nation that our people in India

not only are poor, but also give in work good value for what they receive in wages. We are not a nation of drones.

X. THE PROBLEM OF THE DOMICILED.

The domiciled class is an important part of our community, being 36 per cent. of the whole, and, if the army be excluded, a large majority.

Wholly identified with India, deeply attached to Britain, this class is in a position to render inestimable service as a link between the two countries. But its value is nullified by the inefficiency of most of its members.

Now, the domiciled class is a strand which cannot be removed from our cable unless its members are also removed from the country. India regards them as of our kindred, and to repudiate them—to cast them out of our community—would do more harm to our prestige than is being done to it by their remaining in it inefficient ; and that is not a little.

Since we must keep them, it is worth our while surely to do what we can in the way of purging this class of its inefficiency, and so turn a weakness into a strength. Can it be done ?

XI. POSSIBILITIES.

There are circumstances which both encourage us to make the effort and indicate in what direction it should be made. This first.

The description of the domiciled class which many give as hopelessly bad from top to bottom, is unjust, exaggerated, and much too sweeping. It has many well-doing, efficient members, trusted and respected by all who know them. This is encouraging. What some are, all may be.

Then the eagerness with which all wise parents seek to obtain for their children a training in Europe or the hills. Domiciled and non-domiciled ; the rich who can give their children all the home comforts equally with those whose means are narrower ; the poor who have to scrape and

contrive to get the wherewithal as determinedly as the more prosperous who have no money difficulty—all strive for it.

This is encouraging, for it shows that the domiciled have not despaired of themselves.

It is also instructive, for it proves how strongly the importance of the bracing climate as an element in the training is felt by parents. It is a thing their children must not go without—to miss which is to miss the best chance of success in life. It indicates where lies their hope.

And from their eagerness we may also draw hope, for it suggests that many may be inefficient not from any taint of origin, but because the parents were too poor to give them a proper training.

XII. A KEY TO THE PROBLEM.

The largest domiciled community in India is that of Calcutta, hard by the palace of the Viceroy.

Though many of its members are well-doing and respected, thousands are struggling, and thousands more have gone under. Viceroy after Viceroy has studied and been baffled by its sad case.

Four hundred miles north of Calcutta, in the Himalaya Mountains, is a Scottish mission-station. The chief, Mr. Graham (since made a D.D.), came to know about the case. Though it was no part of his duty, his large heart moved him to seek a cure for the trouble of the domiciled, and he made up his mind that the only effectual cure was that which the instinct of many parents had pointed out to them—to train the young in a bracing climate and under good influences.

Eight years ago, with the help of friends, he founded near his own mission-station, where he could look after it, an institution for the training of poor children from Calcutta principally, and also from other parts of India. In eight years this institution has grown and prospered. It has

three hundred children in training, and is yearly extending its work.

A few points about it may be just touched upon.

No child is refused, if young enough. Orphans, foundlings, castaways are sent here, and also children whose parents pay, according as they are able, the whole or part of the cost of their training. The origin and surroundings from which some of them have been taken are the worst possible. If these respond to the treatment, it is not likely to fail with any others.

The children are trained in a bracing climate, and everything is done to insure their sound physical health.

The staff is as strong and well qualified as in any school in India. The training is specially designed to fit the children for the practical work of life.

The children are made to lead the simple life, and are taught the dignity of labour.

As weakness of character is the chief defect to be guarded against, special care is taken to strengthen the moral influences which surround the children. The most important of these is religion. And here we find, perhaps, the greatest triumph of the management; for, though differences of denomination are neither ignored nor forbidden, by the power of broad Christian charity Anglican, Presbyterian, and Baptist live and grow up side by side in love and peace.

Not much of the finished product has yet gone out into the world; but so far the lads and maids from this institution have the name of being truth-tellers, cheerful and honest workers, clean-living, trustworthy, capable, handy boys and girls.

High officials, leading lawyers, merchants, and planters, who know the work, are agreed in saying that a key has been found to the problem of the domiciled.

The appearance of this institution seems providential. It came into being eight years ago, without a thought of any political trouble to come.

Four years ago the agitation over the "partition" of Bengal began, and the agitators have been ever since attacking our prestige. The case of the domiciled has always been one of the weak points of our prestige. And now, in the nick of time, just when the solution of that case is of vital importance, Dr. Graham offers to us this brave institution as a key. The problem is no longer insoluble.

XIII. A WORK FOR THE NATION.

The key to the problem has been presented. Who is to make use of it?

If the plan is right, a necessary element in the training is the removal of the child to Europe or the hills, which makes it costly.

We have 70,000 children growing up in India; 40,000 of them are of an age when they should be under training. Of the 40,000, not more than 10,000 can get it from their parents or from existing institutions.

Of the remaining 30,000, not more than 1,000 can get it from the resources of the resident community, which are small.

The Government of India will not give more than very limited grants in aid, and we can hope for nothing at all from the Government of this country.

In scope the work is extensive enough to deserve the name of "national," for there is need of a hundred institutions as big as the one we have if every child is to be given a chance.

This is the first and imperious reason why the nation should take up the work—that there is no other to do it. The second is that we are the main body, and must see to our outpost. If the outpost is not attended to, the main body is the chief sufferer.

XIV. A WISH.

The patriot fretting for action, and yet afraid lest by action he injure the cause he would help, will here find

a work clear, definite, beneficial, eminently helpful, worthy of his energies, and crying to be done. Worthy of his energies, for, however quickly it may grow, it cannot reach its full development during the lifetime of any now living; crying to be done, for year by year some thousands of boys and girls become men and women, passing beyond reach of its influence, and year by year shortens the days in India—few at the longest—of him who devised the scheme, and whom it would be so good to have for the oversight of its development.

The work has already in this country a few friends. If it is to be of real use to the nation, it needs many.

It needs many friends. If this paper is the means of adding even one to their number, it has not been written in vain.

THE WEALTH AND PROGRESS OF INDIA : FACTS AND FICTIONS.*

BY CHARLES McMINN, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

THIS paper is to students and workers of India and for India, by one who commenced his Indian studies more than fifty years ago, and who sailed for India above forty-six years ago ; who has read and noted about 600 volumes concerning it. Yet more, I can speak specially to Indians, as few of my race now can, as a domiciled Indian. I have my return ticket, and will be back in India in a few weeks to finish my life there.

"I am not a stranger and sojourner among you as all my fathers were."

Long ago there were two great men in India, Aurangzeeb and Sivajee. They had never met, each had heard much evil of the other, and the great Mogul, wishing to know the truth, sent an artist, commanding him to draw a portrait of Sivajee exactly as he found him. He came back, having drawn Sivajee sitting on his horse, making his dinner off a handful of bajra (millet), which he rubbed in his hands, as the heads and stalks clustered round his head. Aurangzeeb said, "This is a great man to fight, a dangerous enemy," and he made peace with him. The people of England want to make peace with us who eat *jowari ka roti* and *dal bhat*.

A member of Parliament who spent six weeks in India has talked of seeing "the people living for two days on a handful of rice, and the children sitting in the schools hungry and worn."

How he could tell that the people had lived for two days on the handful I know not. Possibly he had been told so. At any rate, great men in India have lived on handfuls of grain.

Aurangzeeb wanted the truth. What is the truth ?

* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

The modern traveller, in the speech above quoted, also stated that in the last "*forty* years of the century 30,000,000 died of hunger"; but on May 10 he stated that 30,000,000 had died in the last *ten* years from poverty." Elsewhere that "30,000,000 of people in India spoke and wrote English." The Census only records, from the statements of the English-speaking people themselves, 1,000,000. The 30,000,000 of poverty deaths in ten years should be also about 1,000,000, according to official report, really about 2,000,000 probably.

Similarly an orator in Madras mentions the sales of the East India Company at £337,000,000, but, on referring to the authority, I find that the real number was £37,000,000. He gives the Company's capital at £4,000,000. It was £40,000.

Similarly, in a great work on "Economic History," I find that the British imposed an "unjust and enormous" duty on Indian cotton of 20 per cent. ; but on reference to the quoted authority I find it was 4d. per cwt. As cotton was 5d. per pound, the rate was less than 1 per cent. This was not a printer's devilry, for taffetas, sugar, mats, are similarly misstated. The truth was that foreign cotton was paying 5s. 10d.* per hundredweight, about 20 per cent., while Indian cotton had the preferential tariff, less than 1 per cent. This is the truth.

There is an idea among Indians that the wealth of England has caused the poverty of India.

"By our stripes ye are healed." This was perhaps true for twenty years after Plassey ; but since then the English may say, "We, too, have suffered ; both have borne each other's burdens." I give an instance.

In 1784 England reduced the British tariff tax on tea to 12½ per cent., on piece-goods to 18 per cent. ; and to make up the deficiency thus caused in the Inland Revenue, imposed a window tax on the English people. This proved a hardship and a sanitary evil to the poor, and a grave annoyance to the rich.

* Commons Report, 1832, vol. ii, p. 607.

William Pitt did this. Possibly he remembered that Indian trade had made his grandfather a rich man, and founded the fortune of the great Chatham.

Up to 1860, in the matter of tariffs, Britain favoured India more or less. About 1838 there were forty-three articles, including every important article of necessity or luxury, for which there were preferential light duties for British possessions. For raw silk from Bengal there was a special light duty, favouring Bengal. It paid 4s. 6d., while all the rest of the world paid 5s. 10d. per lb.

In the East every prospect, physical and political, is more or less hazy. The philosopher believes that all is delusion; the traveller through the desert, when he sees water, generally fancies that it is the sheen of a mirage. So the 10,000 Greeks, when first they caught sight of the sea after long wandering in Asia, repeated with loud acclaim, "*Thalassa, thalassa!*" to assure each other that it was really the long-sought ocean.

Many of us have been wandering and toiling for years in order to discover the reality of things Oriental, the exact truth, and when we find even a little piece of it we feel inclined to stop and cry, "*Thalassa!*"

I have endeavoured not only to tell the truth, but to relate the whole truth, even when it will be quoted to the discredit of England, and to disparage her efforts for the benefit of India. I keep back nothing which is relevant and important which I have noted in the studies of forty years. I add some darker tints to the picture drawn by Burke of the drain from Bengal, 1760-1790—jobbery of the most barefaced kind, salaries to single relatives and partisans which would do credit to a Grand Seignior; on the other hand, some of the serious charges are shown to be without foundation.

If it is painful to discover wrongs which have been inflicted on a subject race, it has been a frequent pleasure to bring to light good deeds, wise plans, unselfish schemes, which the men of England devised for India quietly, without

panegyrics of self-praise, and which, though forgotten, bear fruit even to this day.

The policy of England since 1785 has been just and benevolent towards India, guided by men like Charles Grant, Shore, Lord Teignmouth, Thornton, Thomason, Munro, Elphinstone, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Cornwallis. Charles Grant himself firmly, though courteously, refused to support a grant of money to Lord Hastings in 1823, even when George IV. wrote a letter to induce him to yield; and more than one Governor-General has resisted importunity in high quarters and declined to provide from Indian revenues for high-born Englishmen.

The first point in making an estimate of India's progress is, What was its condition of old? The evidence of many travellers of all races is to the effect that the people of India were always poor, though kings were rich. I quote a Frenchman:

"This estimation of the wealth of India has been commonly accepted in Europe up to the present day, and those who, after visiting the country and obtaining exact and authentic information about the real conditions of its inhabitants, have dared to affirm that India is the poorest and most wretched of all the civilized countries of the world have simply not been believed."

"For about three months of the year almost three-quarters of the inhabitants of the Peninsula are on the verge of starvation."

The Abbé Dubois gave this opinion about a century ago. Montesquieu wrote as follows:*

"In India there are none but the wretches who pillage and the wretches who are pillaged. The grandees have very moderate fortunes, and those whom they call rich have only a bare subsistence."

This was in 1748, in the days of the Great Mogul. Then, too, a French writer laments that, "since the Mogul took the country, the Indians have nothing which they can call their own."

* Book XVI, "Spirit of Laws."

All agree. I need not pile up evidence. I will quote one other Frenchman, Bernier, who states that, though he had good pay, and did not grudge money, he often wanted food and was hungry, though in immediate attendance on the Mogul Court. Food was not plentiful, and methods of transport were primitive; oppression paralyzed industry. He described conditions which are now forgotten. Now we are told that one-fourth of the population have not a sufficient supply of food throughout the year.

This, again, is based on an official statement about four congested districts, whose poverty was being specially investigated and remedied. Even if the exaggerated estimate is true—and it may be so—the improvement in the century is enormous. Three-fourths were then submerged, now one-fourth.

This improvement in industry has followed better protection. The sloth and sluggish agriculture which marked the age, as described by Picart, Dubois, Orme, Buchanan, have given place to steady, sometimes intensive, field labours.

And now I quote the *Bengali* of last month (October 24): "The poorest ryot melts enough silver to make his wife and children a few trinkets."

I have been for years engaged on an elaborate account of Indian trade, industries, commerce, and wealth from the earliest times to the present day. Nothing of the kind has yet appeared. In Mill and Wilson's ten volumes there are about twenty pages concerning the commerce and economics of British India scattered through the work. Wilson had been himself Official Reporter of the Commerce of Bengal for many years, and in 1830 he brought out a most valuable monograph on its trade for the period 1814-1828.

I cannot find an idea, a statistic, or a fact, from the earlier book embodied in the later, in which he himself wrote the entire history of that period, and more especially in his Notes made violent attacks upon the policy of Britain towards India—none of these are in the earlier work.

Equally strange is it that neither of these writers or Hunter had apparently ever heard of a great work by William Milburn, "*Oriental Commerce*, 1813," which I consider the best trade history and the most completely forgotten in the English language.

This oblivion or indifference to a most important subject is without excuse, for several foreign writers had dealt with it before Milburn.

Raynal between 1770 and 1783 brought out various editions of his "*Philosophical History of the Indies*," first in Paris, afterwards published in Geneva, Amsterdam, Dublin, Edinburgh, French or English.

To one edition an eleventh volume is added—a so-called atlas, which contains elaborate trade statistics of the French, Dutch, and English companies. These statistics Grimm declares to have been compiled by Diderot, who also wrote much of the letterpress.

This edition is scarce, as the work was condemned by the Parliament of Paris to be burnt by the hangman, and the author, flying from the country, took refuge in England. No one has ever referred to these statistics to my knowledge. The atlas volume is not mentioned by Lowndes, nor Sir William Hunter, nor entered in the India Office printed library catalogue.

Raynal's work is most interesting. It was written at a time when Britain, having in 1760-1761 conquered both in the East and West, was the ruler of all America east of the Mississippi, of the Canadas and Cape Breton; was dominant also in India, where Dupleix had once ruled. Numerous fair cities and provincial capitals—Pondicherry, Quebec, Chandarnagore, and Montreal—had yielded to England; each successive blow rendered Raynal's narrative more bitter. He is credulous as to any reports discreditable to the English in military matters*—for instance, he states that they owed their success at Plassey, also against Kasim Ali Khan, also against the Nawab of Benares (he means

* Vol. i., p. 315.

the Vizir of Oudh), to corrupting the officers of those Indian rulers. For this charge there is no foundation except the negotiation with Meer Jaffier in one instance.

In civil matters the charges which Raynal brings against the rapacious Company are partly true.

Nor have I, in a single instance, discovered that he tampered with figures, or garbled the statistics, which he quotes in order to magnify the Company's delinquencies, or to render the invective more poignant. He freely admits that Calcutta and Bombay flourished exceedingly under the British. The Abbé Guyon in Paris had previously in 1744 brought out a three-volume account of India and its trade. Burke, in the Committee's report of 1783, gave his view of the condition of India. Dow, in the first volume of his "History of Hindustan," a book of some merit, tried to be impartial; but no one was encouraged by the popularity of Raynal to attempt a complete history of the commerce of India except Milburn, and he only takes us down to 1810.

Next to Milburn come Prinsep and H. H. Wilson, each of whom brought out a work on the external commerce of Bengal in 1824 and 1830, both of great value. By their aid I have discovered grave errors in many official publications.

From 1832 to 1843 Montgomery Martin brought out a series of volumes about India and the Colonies, some of which are not even mentioned in "Lowndes' Bibliography." They amount, as he boasted, to about 15,000 pages; most of them contain the same matter cooked up with fresh comments. No one probably ever wrote a statistical work who was so absolutely unfit for it as Montgomery Martin. His want of accuracy was phenomenal. He is, I think, unique in that, at the foot of a page of many years' statistics, he would add a note,* "We perceive a stationary or declining trade," though almost every column recorded a great increase. He prepared one most valuable table, if correct, of the trade of India, 1802-1836, which,

* "Colonies," pp. 354, 360, A.B.

so far as I know, is the only printed authority for that period. But he made every mistake which was possible. He included or excluded the Company's trade for different periods for each of the three Presidencies; he included interportal trade; he excluded the trade of minor ports in Bombay, but included it in Madras.

The feelings of an economist who has to deal with his figures become acute. Martin left India in 1830, having spent only one year in Calcutta, part of it in the prisoners' dock. He was convicted for libel; he had also received a warning from the Governor-General for using language in his newspaper which would incite European troops to mutiny.

In 1832, when the Government was bringing in their Bill for the abolition of the Company's monopoly, party feeling ran high.

Martin, with many others, wrote books and pamphlets. His first production was a warm panegyric on everything the Company had done; he then* praised the "moderate landed assessment," the salt tax, "the arms of the Company, ever turned against despotism, and employed for the relief of the feeble, the indigent, and oppressed."

In 1838 he sees nothing in India but a† "mass of wretchedness, a deep and indelible disgrace to the British name; no steps taken to benefit the sufferers by our rapacity and selfishness—the cruel selfishness of English commerce." Let those who have accepted and quoted Martin's later denunciations read his earlier statements, when he frankly puts himself up to auction. To do him justice, he always attacked the home tariffs. He denounced them long after they had ceased, as if still existing.

He claims in 1839 for cotton manufacture a "juster rate‡ of reciprocity than that now practised—30 per cent. in England against the Hindu, and but $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in India against the Englishman." The real rates were 10 in Eng.

* "Anglo-Eastern Empire," pp. 398, 400.

† "Eastern India," vol. ii., p. xx.

‡ "Colonies," p. 365.

land, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in India, and the English rate was reduced to 5 in 1842.* Cotton piece-goods were not 30 per cent. in 1839, or at any time. His own statistics in the appendix† refute his text.

From 1843 there seems to have been a lull in the war of pamphlets about India.

The general prosperity, only temporarily interrupted by the Afghan War and the famine of 1838, was justly attributed in part at least to numerous reforms and improvements.

British tariffs were not only just to India, but even benevolent from 1825. Opium, indigo, tea, jute, cotton, were bringing wealth to the Empire surpassing tenfold that of the Moguls.

I now come to the official compilations.

The original report of the Committee of Secrecy of 1773, the Lords' Committee's report of 1831, the Commons' Committee's report of 1832, and others, are of value. The reports of 1783, 1793, 1812, 1853, are almost useless for my purposes.

The very bulk of these volumes renders them an obstruction to the exact student, although the index is generally fairly full. The contents are mixed. Most valuable evidence by Holt Mackenzie, Sir Thomas Munro, Elphinstone, Malcolm, Warren Hastings, is jostled by the ignorant or interested and erroneous statements of adventurers. Every question and answer is given in detail, however bald and useless.

West Indian sugar-planters, Manchester cotton-spinners, Coventry silk-weavers, declaim against the Company, or in support of duties, with voluble ignorance—generally in defence of interests, sometimes sinister. Such have always dogged the steps of Tariff Reform.

In this work I claim to have placed on record in an accessible and popular volume correct facts and figures about the more important and vital conditions of Indian economics, specially as affected by British rule.

* Commons Report, 1832, ii. 595. † "Colonies," Appendix, p. 132.

I admit that, in Bengal particularly, for the first twenty years after the Company assumed the *Diwani* there were most serious drawbacks to the peace and prosperity which British rule introduced.

From 1785 amendment commenced, partly due to a great improvement in the Customs regulations and to lower tariffs on the two great Eastern products, tea and piece-goods, dating from 1783 to 1784.

I devote separate chapters to the decay and recovery of Bengal.

The former during the period 1757-1787 was partly due to the drain of bullion caused by the serious struggles with American, European, and Indian potentates, but more to the cessation of the export of bullion to Bengal, and, indeed, to India for thirty-five years after Plassey.

The donations of about £3,000,000 by the different Nawabs of Bengal to Clive and others were very damaging—not so much on account of the transfer of the bullion from the Nawab's treasure vaults to the officers, but through the bad example of great, secret, and ill-gotten gains, which for thirty years injured the *morale* and the efficiency of both civil and military services.

Everyone has heard of the plunder after Plassey, but the reduction of the duties in 1784 on tea and piece-goods were boons to India and to England—acts of justice and statesmanship due to the wisdom of Pitt, a young statesman who possibly remembered (as I have already mentioned) that the fortunes of his family were founded in India.

So far as I can judge, not one of the numerous writers on economic subjects in India has ever heard of these tariff changes in 1784. They seem to have a general idea that the Company and Government in England, being hostile to Indian manufactures, imposed unjust and enormous duties to crush or throttle them, and with fatal success; so that India, once a great manufacturing country, has now fallen back solely upon agriculture, which again is strangled by a heavy and variable land tax, so that the peasantry,

becoming poorer and poorer, are perishing by famines which have become more deadly and destructive every year.

I am using the exact words employed by Martin in his several manuals of Indian economics, by Wilson, Naorojee, and others.

Most of their statements are incorrect; even when they discuss the harshness and injustice of the period of twenty years 1765-1785 they exaggerate gravely.

For later periods, in order to prove the grievous nature of the drain upon India, most writers borrow from Montgomery Martin. I indicate by quotation from the authorities which Martin pretends to be his guide a few of the numerous errors which are the basis of some just and sympathetic views, and of far more rabid rhetoric. I quote both from Martin when he advocated the Company's cause and supported the charter in 1832, and from Martin when he furiously denounced nearly all that the British had done in India. Later writers only quote from the latter, and select the most damning statements, most of them fictions.

Martin, however, did insert in his latest volume certain statistics of trade and preferential tariffs which absolutely disprove his own statements about the decay of India under crushing Custom duties. The latest writer* omits these, never refers to preferential duties, but prepares statistics of his own. These he professes to have obtained from the Commons' report of 1832, but they are just the reverse of what are really there.

Mr. Digby, in his "Prosperous India," borrows largely from Mr. Dutt and Mr. Naorojee, placing on the outside of his volume a statement of the comfortable income of the Indian peasant fifty years ago compared to his present misery. He states that the income of the Indian peasant was two annas a day fifty years ago, but for this assertion he quotes no authority whatever. That was the adult labourer's pay, not the income per head.

He thus draws an indictment against British adminis-

* "Economic History," p. 294.

tration and the British people who endorse the action of that administration.

It is pleasant to turn from this painful record to a real patriot like Mr. Ranade, whose economical essays are, I fear, unknown in England. They are not polemical, though critical and sometimes severe in denunciation of official error. They preach the gospel of self-help and patriotic effort in lofty language, and with earnest devotion to truth. That no one untruthful could be a patriot was the formal doctrine of Mr. Ranade.

I here indicate the leading points of this work, which I prove in the various chapters.

The East India Company, far from being hostile to Indian manufactures, spent about £160,000,000 in training artisans, in establishing factories, in buying and transporting to England for sale there the piece-goods, silk, saltpetre, indigo, sugar, which were their principal staples. They sold piece-goods alone for 65·9 million pounds in forty years (1771-1810.)* For years before the Company ceased to trade they conducted operations at a loss, hoping for improvement, buoyed up by flattering statements from their servants the commercial agents. The Indian trade was a losing concern, but the Company through its monopolies of tea and opium earned several hundreds of million pounds, which largely paid the expenses of Indian administration out of the pockets of the Chinese consumer of opium and of the British tea-drinker. They never said, "Leave off weaving; we will weave for you."†

Indian trade and administration up to 1833 were to a certain extent mismanaged through jobbery; exorbitant salaries were paid to about eighty officers, drawing from £3,000 to £13,000 yearly.

Similar duties now receive remuneration sometimes one-quarter or one-eighth of the amounts then paid.

It is true also that in the eighteenth century still more extravagant salaries were paid: £23,000 to a Resident at

* Milburn, ii. 235.

† Dutt's "England and India," p. 129.

Lucknow, £45,000 to one Commander-in-Chief, to another £55,000.

The last of the prodigalities ceased in 1833, under Lord William Bentinck's orders, whose memory still guides popular ideas, and a real wrong to India then vanished.

I give the exact history of the import duties both in England and India in all detail from 1800, though the more important features are noted from 1695. The duty on calicoes, which was really severe, was from 70 to 80 per cent. from 1805 to 1825, then reduced to 10 per cent.

The highest duty on muslins was 35 per cent.; the duty on sugar, also above 100 per cent., was not half of the duty paid by foreign sugars. The same remark applies more or less to duties on pepper, on sundry drugs, on silk, on spirits, rice, timber, ginger, indigo.

However high, the duties were paid by the British consumer, and imposed in order to maintain the terrible struggle with Napoleon or to pay the bill; and they were, when compared to those paid by the British on their own salt, calico, tobacco, spirits, on every necessary of life, really moderate.

I trace the successive steps of preferential tariffs in England and India by which a great trade was built up, and the commercial fabric cemented by mutual forbearance and favour. In forty-three articles England greatly favoured India to her own damage.

This system prevailed on both sides from about 1800 to 1860, though in important items Preference prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indian piece-goods paid 15 per cent., when foreign European paid 25 as far back as 1689.*

I trace the import of bullion into India from 1700 up to 1907.

The net import, the balance of import over export, was £106,000,000 in the five years 1903-1907. In England it was only 12·4 millions in the same period. I make it to have been £764,000,000 from 1700 to date in India.

* Tariff Blue Book.

I indicate the errors in some official returns on this subject both in 1842 and in 1864. In the latter they amount to at least £10,000,000. In the last two years the net import of bullion is almost £28,000,000 yearly—2s. per head. Mr. Dutt's estimate was 2d. in gold.

I have collected the information about the bills drawn on the London directors by their Indian servants, and paid by the former in cash. Their total amount for India and China came to £80,000,000 up to 1833, when the Company ceased to trade. This amount has during the last half-century been forgotten. Burke, Mill, Rickards, and all the other authorities, entered these amounts among the exports to India to be calculated in the balance of trade. Those who reckoned up the tribute as the balance of exports over imports have forgotten it.

I have endeavoured to quote correctly the home charges, whose amount has been entered wrongly by several authors. I have also dealt with the stores, which for very many years were excluded from the trade accounts, and in the very latest issue of Commercial Statistics we find it stated that the tables include Government imports and exports, which is incorrect for many years.

Government stores sent to India, £17,000,000, in the last three years, must have aggregated about £150,000,000 in two centuries.

Stores make a large item in discussing the balance of trade. Again and again the public has been told that there was no commercial return for the money which Government takes from India. The Government imports—metals, machinery, railway plant and stores—have always been the most invaluable and permanent of commercial returns.

I have sketched the public works expenditure—first on barracks, forts, harbours, which even in 1811 had amounted to £11,000,000; then on canals, gaols, court-houses, roads, railroads, hospitals, colleges, schools, much of which has dropped out of the accounts.* Valbezin in 1857 estimates the cost of the great trunk road, Calcutta to Karnal, at

* P. 306.

1·5 million pounds. Forty years ago, when, as editor of the *Gazetteer*, I tried to get such information, I was officially told that accounts were burnt after ten years.

This and all similar expenditure for the good of India has been forgotten by those who declare that "the public debt of India was a myth, that equitably India owed nothing : there was a balance of over £100,000,000 in her favour."*

Fort William cost £2,000,000, built mainly out of the spoils of Plassey. Credit for canals and railways has been given, but roads and other public works, as noted above, have all been forgotten in estimating the public assets of India, the structural wealth which she has accumulated under British guidance.

[Many orators and writers have discussed the drain from India to England, which has been variously estimated of late at from 25 to 50 crores — that is, £33,000,000 — yearly. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee declared a few months ago that this last amount was sent out of the country in cash to England.] The bullion export yearly from the country averages £9,000,000, not £33,000,000, and this is to all the world. The yearly import of bullion, including the Indian mines, averages £28,000,000 for the last five years. The net import averages about £18,000,000, which India yearly gains, instead of losing £33,000,000.

I give details of the tribute formerly paid by Bengal to Delhi, by Delhi in its turn to Persia, when Nadir Shah carried off £65,000,000 of plunder. Baber, when he captured Delhi, sent a piece of gold to every man, woman, and child, slave or free, in his old kingdom Caubul. I have extracted from the authorities the details of the £6,000,000 paid in presents and as restitution to the Company, to Europeans, Armenians, and natives, from 1757 to 1765, by different Nawabs of Bengal.

This amount was not employed at home in England to foster commercial enterprise or to aid industrial progress and invention. It in no way helped the creation of wealth

* "Victorian Age," p. xv.

or invention of spinning-jenny, mule-jenny, water-frame, or power-looms; nor was it auxiliary to the economical progress of the cotton manufacture, soon to be dominant throughout the world.

I have also noted the results of the monopoly of tea from 1690 to 1833. The English consumer had to pay an exorbitant price for the benefit of the Company. The profit made by the Company*—20·1 million pounds in fifteen years: 1814-1828, 1819-1828—was paid entirely by England for the benefit of India. The total amount up to 1833, about £60,000,000, differed from the plunder after Plassey in that this latter £3,000,000 were taken from the hoards of the ruler, the Nawab, himself a foreigner, a Mogul; while the £60,000,000 were paid by England, mostly by working men and women.

I point out, for the first time in full detail, the enormous commercial benefit of the opium trade to India from 1774 up to the present day.

Mr. Naorojee admits as gain to India, paid by China from 1835 to 1872, £141,000,000.† This is a correct statement of the net revenue for the period, not of the total gains. I estimate the total gain from opium from 1773 to 1906 at £436,000,000. This is the amount paid by China and Eastern Asia for Indian opium above its cost price.

The opium profit is largely due to the fleet of England, which on several occasions has interfered for the protection of the trade. That fleet is not maintained at the cost of India, which pays £100,000 yearly as a contribution to the £32,000,000 which is the cost of England's fleet.

The opium export during the fifty years 1855-1904 has amounted to 5·220 million rupees, or more than 100 million rupees yearly.‡

Throughout opium has been valued at the auction price in Calcutta or Bombay, and entered at that rate in the trade statistics among exports.

Thus the balance of exports over imports is calculated as

* Lords Report, 1830, i. 1000.

† "Poverty of India," p. 33.

‡ "Commercial Statistics," p. 87.

the balance which "England has kept back as its benefit"—the tribute, the drain.

But these Rs. 100,000,000 yearly have been paid by China, not by India, as, indeed, Mr. Naorojee admits, only he allows for the net revenue of opium, not for the gross sales, which are a much larger amount.

I deal with the subject in its own place, but note here that for a century, as regards the two great monopolies, salt and opium, we have seriously misstated the exports and imports of India.

Salt, an *import*, is valued at the Liverpool price, at about £1 per ton—at the mines' cost of production in fact, omitting the tax which Government imposes, now £1 16s. per ton; but opium, an *export*, is valued, not at the mere cost of production, but at the auction selling price for the Chinese market, including and enhanced by the Government monopoly. We should deduct Rs. 75,000,000 yearly from the exports for the last fifty years, and in proportion for the rest of the period. This will seriously alter the balance of trade, and lessen the apparent drain.

I devote great pains to the Indian piece-goods trade, though I have only got consecutive figures from 1771.

Now for the charge made by Professor Wilson, Boden Professor, that it was ruined by "hostile tariffs of 70 or 80 per cent.* imposed about 1813 in England, at a time when Indian goods could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England; so the foreign manufacturers employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor who was afterwards 'sacrificed' and annihilated." I give the fullest prominence to this statement, virulent as it is, because it is absolutely void of truth. I quote from the Parliamentary Report of 1793 that even then, twenty years before 1813, British muslins were being sold in every shop one-fourth less in price than

* "History of India," vii., p. 385.

Indian, and the improvement in production was continuous till, in 1812, British yarns were less than half the price of Indian, according to another Commons Committee's Report. Martin uses this evidence of 1813 to show that England had "nothing to fear"* from the Indian manufacturer; whereas, according to Wilson, such were England's terrors "that the mills of Paisley and Manchester would be stopped in their outset," that she imposed duties of 70 or 80 per cent.

Wilson also states that "British goods were forced upon India to strangle the competitor."

He does not say by whom this was done, or the "duties of 70 and 80 per cent. imposed on Indian goods in Britain in order to protect those fabricated in England." I have pointed out that no such duties were imposed at the time stated, or at any time, except on calicoes, from 1805 to 1825, and British printed calicoes had to pay in England, till 1831, 100 to 150 per cent., so there was no attempt to strangle their competition.

As for the policy of the authorities, I quote the Board of Control, March 25, 1802,† "that his Lordship be informed" (Lord Wellesley) "that the Company perfectly agree in the sentiments contained in his letter. The class of manufacturers as therein remarked is entitled to the constant protection and encouragement of the State, otherwise that useful and valuable body of men might experience distress, *the fabrics be debased*, valuable branches of manufacture now supported by the Company be wholly abandoned or materially injured; therefore it was deemed advisable to afford every possible encouragement to the private merchant in order that he might be enabled to supply the place of the Company in the market, and to furnish that support to the manufacturers." Here we find the two supreme authorities in India and England in perfect harmony, both eager to give every support to the manufactures of India. In order to do so, they have broken down the cherished monopoly of the Company, and allowed the free merchant to export

* Martin's "Colonies," p. 365.

† Milburn, ii. 227.

piece-goods to England; yet we are told they, or some other authority—there was no other—cruelly prohibited these goods in England, or strangled them by crushing duties.

Wilson, an old man in 1844, must have mixed up hazy recollections of what happened in 1700, in 1780, and in 1805, and drawn a picture of a vampire England which was absolutely false—at any rate, since 1783.

On the other hand, much undue partiality was shown to Indian products by tariffs prior to 1805; corruption, according to history, reached Cabinet Ministers under William III. It did not cease in the eighteenth century; £100,000 was spent by one chairman of the Indian Directors in bribery, and it is difficult to account for certain unreasonable concessions in any other way.

I trace the foreign trade of India—£241,000,000 in 1907—from its humble origin; it was about £5,000,000 probably when Plassey was fought, about £4,000,000 under the Moguls. I describe the progress of manufactures; in textiles alone the exports in 1905 were Rs. 282,000,000, about five times the rupee value of the exports in their brief heyday about 1795-1805.

I give the exports of food-grains—by no means, to my mind, a pleasing feature—aggregating in the last three years a total of 65·5 million pounds. On the other hand, the exports of tea and textiles, jute, cotton, oil-seeds, the rising strength of industries like rubber, cinchona, coal, petroleum, lac, are all most satisfactory.

The out-turn of coal has reached 11,000,000 tons in 1907, from 4,000,000 in 1897. Manganese, mica, salt, gold, all increased largely—manganese from 60,000 tons in 1898, petroleum to 496,000 in 1906.

Then the products of the Indian mills: manufacturing industries generally have progressed; woven goods out-turn has doubled in ten years. After all, only 555,000 persons receive employment in the various mills and factories for dealing with cotton, jute, silk, and wools.

In the old days, including the women and children,

10,000,000 at least made a very wretched living out of these industries.

The orators have been in the habit of declaiming about the decay of Indian manufactures during the last century, and it is true that hand-loom weaving has declined, but the power-loom has in the last twenty years far more than filled the void ; gunnies—that is, jute—in 1805 were exported to the value of 3 lacs of rupees ;* in 1906 to the amount of 4,256 lacs—in other words, jute and its products were sent out from Bengal in 1805 to the value of £35,000 ; in 1906 to the amount of 28·4 million pounds.

The trade of India—exports and imports, foreign and coasting—amounts to £271,000,000. I enter the coasting import alone, as the addition of the export would involve a double valuation. This is the sea-borne trade guarded by the British navy. The total trade of the British Empire is £1,500,000,000,† and the cost of its protection by the fleet is £34,000,000 yearly, or 2·26 per cent. on the value of trade ; calculated similarly, India should pay 6·1 million pounds for the defence of its trade. It is right that England should refrain from making any such charge, considering her wealth and the benefits she has derived from the commerce of India.

But when a balance is being struck, and orators are denouncing the drain, this fact should be remembered—these £6,000,000 are equal to the cost of all the British officers in India, and China pays in opium prices for all the pensions and salaries in England.

I am not defending the monopoly of high office by Englishmen in India which largely in practice still prevails. Forty years ago, in my first publication, I advocated simultaneous examinations, but the whole truth should be told about this drain and its real dimensions. Every candid man must admit that the connection has enriched both countries.

May I address Indian gentlemen?

You have been told that England crushed your cotton

* Milburn, ii. 153.

† Whitaker's Almanack, p. 333.

manufacture by heavy import duties in England ; from 1825 the duty was 10 per cent., in 1841 5 per cent., 1845 nothing, while $3\frac{1}{2}$ or even 10 per cent. was placed on English cotton in India. But it is stated the reduction came too late ; the cotton-weaving industry was already dead ; and you may galvanize a corpse, you cannot restore it to life.

Ure's "Cotton Manufactures" (Bohn) contains masses of information about cotton.* The trade never died. From 1840 to 1857 India exported piece-goods to the amount of 44·3 million pieces, an average in the eighteen years of 2·5 million pieces yearly. Only a small portion went to England, but China, Brazil, Asia, and Africa took them freely.

Now the average export to England in the palmy old days—1771-1792—was only 800,000 pieces, and that to the rest of Europe was less still.

Yet, says Professor Dutt, "This industry was gradually strangled and destroyed, first by protective duties, then by an unequal competition."†

"Weaving and spinning have become extinct," says the eloquent Sir Henry Cotton ; yet the exports of jute, cotton, and other fabrics in 1906 were 19·5 million pounds—four times as much as they ever were under the Moguls.

May I in all courtesy correct some principal misstatements? The salaries of Europeans in India above Rs. 1,000 are not 15 million pounds, but 5·7 million pounds. The old Home Charges were stated by Montgomery Martin to be £3,000,000 yearly, but in his Appendix he gives the particulars 1·7 million pounds. There was no drain of £8,400,000,000 in the fifty years before 1838 ; on the other hand, as the entire expenses of India in England were paid by tea, opium, and the profits of trade, the drain was the other way—from China, if you like, not from India.

There were no "unjust and enormous duties"‡ in England on Indian goods, except on one article, calico, for twenty years—from 1805 to 1825 ; it was 71 per cent., but on

* Vol. II., 428, 429.

† "England and India," p. 127.

‡ Dutt's "Economic History," p. 294.

English printed calicoes there were enormous. Excise duties—100 to 150 per cent. up to 1831 in England.

On the other hand, on forty-three articles there were light preferential duties favouring Indian goods, penal or crushing duties, on imports from foreign nations, including our cousins in America.

The canals and railways made by Government or guaranteed companies have been all—with exception of two canals and one railway—a great commercial success, a still greater industrial boon. The railways have not caused a loss of £50,000,000* to the State; this never was the case. On the other hand, as they have cost £259,000,000, and pay 6 per cent., it may be roughly said that, apart from Imperial and popular benefits, they are worth, from a stockbroker's point of view, £200,000,000 more than they cost. In the above £259,000,000 there are included £13,000,000 spent by Indian States instigated by English officers.

The canals have cost not £33,000,000, but above £38,000,000; they pay 5 per cent. to Government, and they save the crops and the lives of millions.

A gentleman recently declared that all India had got for an uprooted civilization was the ever-present dread of famine.

For 15,000,000 acres there is now the certainty of harvest, which never was before, for they are watered from perennial canals.

I was ravenous to find errors in Government statistics. I found the official record of bullion imports in 1864 wrong by £10,000,000, but that was in £300,000,000, and the net imports were understated by the compiler, who had valued a 2s. 6d. rupee at 2s.; at last I found the rice crop of 1906 entered at 440,000,000 tons when it ought to have been hundredweights. I leave it.

I will correct a few official errors which appear in latest issues of "Moral and Material Progress." Land revenue has not increased from £13,000,000 in 1860 to £19,000,000

* Dutt's "Famines," p. 305.

in 1906; on the other hand, it has decreased from £20,000,000 to £19,000,000.

Salt tax has not increased from 3·8 millions in 1868 to 4 millions in 1905; it has decreased from 5·7 millions to 4 millions. The salt tax in Bengal particularly was an iniquitous—nay, a nefarious—tax for a century, at any rate. It was Rs. 3 per maund or a Government monopoly, involving that tax, or a higher one, as far back as 1802. I was punished for denouncing it in 1872, and my chapter exposing misstatements was struck out of the *Gazetteer*.

Plague did not appear for the first time in India recently, it was a frequent visitant; in 1690 it carried off the majority of the soldiers and civilians in Bombay. Official Indian errors are very small fry. The critics who are not officials quote figures freely: if they have been many years in India, please divide their statistics by ten; but if only six weeks, divide by thirty.

Allow me to indicate how figures can be transmuted, or made to multiply themselves and glow with shining tints in an Oriental kaleidoscope. The melancholy tale is the drain of India commencing in A.D. 1600.

There were twelve voyages of the East India Company in the first twelve years; the capital in each varied: the smallest, £7,000; the largest, £80,000. The total amount of the different capitals added up was £441,000* according to one account, or £464,000; the average capital was £38,700; one year's adventure sometimes overlapped another; one voyage was not completed before another commenced, and the profit was 138 per cent. In an economic work published by the President of the Madras Conference, he has counted the capital at 4·21 millions, and the profit at 234 per cent.

He took each of the different years' capitals, added them together so as to make one aggregate; he might just as well add together all men, women, and children alive in

* MacGregor, p. 19.

each one of the twelve years to get the population of the period. However, in this way he got £421,000, and then, putting a cipher to it, the total becomes 421 millions, and from this big drain spouting interest at 234 per cent. flowed the life-blood of poor India.

This is not an oratorical inebriety; too many of us, when we get upon the platform and launch our barque, see it turn turtle almost at once. Even when we try to be strictly accurate, we are entangled at once in besetting fiction; the tentacles of the octopus drag us down. We have no vulgar antipathy to graceful fictions in their place, but are not of "the wise men who call benevolent falsehood the speech of the gods" when vital affairs, momentous for the welfare of India and England, have to be settled. The alteration of less than £40,000 to above £4,000,000 is, in a grave economical dissertation, the same in which £37,000,000 are magnified to £337,000,000.

Even so I find, when a Bombay gentleman is discussing the balance of trade, he states that the yearly average "deficit of imports," the "drain to England,"* in the quinquennial period 1855-1859 was 77 million pounds; but on examining the official figures which he quotes, I find that for that period the imports were Rs. 268,000,000, and the exports only Rs. 258,000,000;† the *exports* were in deficit. The statement that in five years the exports exceeded the imports by £39,000,000, even if you add 15 per cent. to the former, is wildly wrong; here, too, the error is really one of about £40,000,000. Mistakes are never minute.

The official English figures for the imports were £1,100,000,000 in error for ten years about 1853, through obsolete valuations, not to serve party purposes.

Indian calculations rival them; their authors may be from a poor country, but in visionary figures they are millionaires; in fictitious statistics, which have no more value than soap bubbles, they are multi-millionaires. They

* "Poverty of India," p. 34. † "Commercial Statistics," p. 483.

revel in a tornado of ciphers, some as worthless as the motes revealed by the sunbeam.

Official figures are in avalanches too. Every ten years we take a census of human beings, but every year we count and publish the glad tidings of new births, so many more sheep, mules, and asses.

Montgomery Martin boasted that he had published 15,000 pages about India. Including new editions, Professor Dutt, Naorojee, and Digby must have published as much.

We are told that when in ancient days a brave, but barbarous, nation captured Rome, they entered the senate house and found the senators each in his seat.

The invaders approached and gazed with silent homage at the fathers; no one spoke. At last one ventured to stroke the long beard of an ancient, and was promptly struck down for the insult; a massacre followed.

Our authorities in India have sat silent far too long. Many volumes have been compiled containing truths, half-truths, and untruths. They ought to have recognized the power of the Press, that the public have a right to explanations, to candid admissions of errors, or to official refutation where false charges have been made. Except about the land tax the oracles have been dumb, so not in India only, but large classes in America and Germany have come to believe all evil about English government in India, which in many respects is better than in England. "Democracy is spendthrift," said Lord Morley.

"There are no short cuts to millenniums," said Mr. Burns; "the road to Paradise is narrow as a razor," said a great prophet. Self-government is a noble ideal to aim at, and for my part I hope that in large measures it may be peacefully attained; but it will not at present secure the happiness of the millions, judging by what we see in the East. China within the last ten years has had more famines than India, though her population is most industrious, her civilization ancient—she had the printing press and mariner's compass 500 years before we had

In 1903 a responsible reporter, sent by the Relief Committee of Hong Kong, recorded that the deaths by one famine numbered 10,000,000; in one place the gaol was emptied because there was no food for the prisoners. The authorities released those charged with minor offences; those believed guilty of serious crime were beheaded outside the gaol, their bodies left there, and I will not mention what became of them; I will only quote an Indian historian, lamenting that in a famine round Delhi, "the flesh of a son was preferred to his love."

One great economic evil is that the people of India sell their cotton for export to foreign Europe, but they will not have it back when it is woven into piece-goods; they will buy Manchester goods, which are woven entirely from American cotton.

This is their own doing, and it is marvellous. They sell their cotton for £15,000,000, but they buy Manchester goods for £25,000,000, and this is the economic drain. They have to export £21,000,000 worth of food-grains to pay for the home charges and Manchester goods; so, although the balance of imported bullion, the net receipts after deduction of exports, is now £28,000,000 yearly, the economical position is not satisfactory. They import white sugar and fine silks and cigarettes and other luxuries to the amount of £6,000,000 more, and this is not for the welfare of India, while many millions are paupers, and sometimes lack food.

It is a simple libel that the "Company virtually said to the Indian weavers at the beginning of the century, 'Leave off weaving; supply us with the raw material, and we will weave for you.'"^{*} Mr. Dutt quotes this, he alleges, from Wilson's "History of India," vol. vii., p. 129, but the remark, which was by Tierny, was not applied to the Company at all which Tierny was lauding at the time; he said that the "government was well and ably and nobly administered," "the happiness of 60,000,000 had been attained; there was no charge against the Company." Tierny was referring to "the merchants and manufacturers";

* "England and India," p. 129.

it was in their mouths, this speech was placed, and, says Mr. Dutt, "the mandate has been too scrupulously and cruelly followed."

The reader can compare the volumes for himself, and see how an imaginary invitation by Manchester mill-owners to India was altered into a Government mandate by the Company, the ruler of the country, a "mandate scrupulously and cruelly followed." We know, on the contrary, that the Company fostered weaving as it fostered silk, and was selling Indian piece-goods up to the last moment of its trade existence in 1833, and at a heavy loss. So the entire statement is a conglomeration of errors.

There is an idea abroad that trade does not benefit India; in its crudest form we are told that "new products like tea are now grown in India, but they are grown mostly by English companies with English capital. The profit comes to England, and does not benefit the Indian agriculturist."*

The English capital invested in tea is calculated at, say, £20,000,000; the average dividends certainly do not exceed 6 per cent.; the value of the export is 6.5 million pounds; the labourers employed number above 500,000, receiving above 3 millions.

They are largely recruited from congested districts, clothed, fed, and brought comfortably to the gardens, where they are paid double the wage they received at home, housed comfortably, medical attendance and comforts provided, and, as I have witnessed in numerous gardens in Assam, the Himalayas, Dehra Doon, such comfortable, well-fed, lightly worked, healthy, merry, working people I have not seen anywhere else in the world. Their working hours are about two-thirds of those exacted by Indian mill-owners in Bombay with night work and electric light. In fact, though not perfect, the industrial system is very near perfection. When rice reaches a certain price, the law compels the employers to provide food or compensation. Light task-work enables them to save money and

* "England and India," p. 131.

encourages industry, and a field of tea-pickers is bright with the tinkling silver ornaments which the women wear in profusion.

I may collocate one or two other misstatements about the wealth of India.

"Imports of gold on private account and not for purposes of coinage have averaged annually more than 2.5 million pounds, and it is fondly imagined that the gold is secretly hoarded by the cultivators of India. Unreasoning optimism does not stop to calculate that if this gold was shared equally by the population of India, the share of each cultivator would be about 2d. in the year."*

This was in 1897. No one ever stated that the cultivator hoarded gold, but the writer says nothing about silver which the cultivator, as a rule, does not exactly hoard, but spends on his wife's jewellery and his children's marriages if he has saved money. In 1897 the imports of gold and silver were 13.7 million pounds.† But the statement bristles with defects or errors. The averages are mentioned, but number of years not given; the total import of gold is given, whereas it ought to be the net import: the imports were all private, and practically none of it was afterwards coined, so the imputation that part of it was Government and for coinage is wrong. Lastly, it makes absolutely no difference in the long run when bullion is imported whether it is afterwards coined or not; coined or uncoined, it is for the use of the public, and benefits the public even if a portion is retained in the gold reserve. It adds to financial security. The average net import of bullion, including the mine products, which Mr. Dutt ignores, is £18,000,000 for the last seven years, £28,000,000 almost for the last two years. This is the bullion price, not Mr. Naorojee's 11d. rupee, or Mr. Dutt's 2s. one; so the bullion saved yearly is above eleven times what is mentioned. Instead of 2d. yearly, the cultivator now puts past about 2s. for each man, woman, and child, if we include the

* Dutt's "England and India," p. 131.

† Statistical Abstract, p. 162.

native states in the British Indian imports, and nearly 2s. 6d. if we exclude them.

A few more of the bristling fallacies or fictions:

"Within the period of the Queen's reign the population of the British Islands has increased from 25,000,000 to 40,000,000. In India the population has not increased at this rate," as there was no regular census till 1872; no estimate of the population is possible from 1838, the year of the Queen's accession.

"In India we have no figures to show if the wealth per head of the population has increased at all."

We have figures; let them speak. The import of bullion, of metals, piece-goods, of railway materials, is larger per head in 1907 than it was in 1872, the first year of known population, or in any year since.

Year.		Imports.	Population.	Per Head.
1872	...	Rs.364,000,000	185,000,000	Rs.2.
1907	...	Rs.1,735,000,000	237,000,000	Rs.7.5.

The rupee in 1872 was worth 1s. 11d.; in 1907, 1s. 4d.; so the imports in 1873 were worth 3s. 10d. per head, and in 1907, 9s. 9d. per head.

I do not include the Native States because half of them were not censused in 1872.

I have allowed for the addition of Upper Burma in 1885, and for the increase of population since the Census of 1901.

It would be more sound to take the net imports of bullion in 1872 and in 1907, but that would not be a fair comparison, as for some years about 1872 the net imports were small, and a comparison with 1907 would exhibit an inflation which the honest annalist would not claim.

The amount of Government paper held by Indians is convincing as to progress in wealth. I give it in millions of rupees:

Year.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indian Percentage.
1834	72.3	204.4	27
1906	548.3	712.7	44

That is, the Indians have now nearly eight times as much as they had in 1834. True, even £548,000,000 is not a large sum; it is the rapidity of the increase which should be noted. Further, the temptation is less now. Government used to pay 10·9 per cent. in 1809; in 1834, 6 and 5 per cent.; now the average interest is $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Yet the Indians, even for less interest, have invested largely increased amounts in funds. Financial stability and popular confidence have improved together.

Men who have read know from whence the wealth of England was derived at this time. In 1762 the English fleet captured Havana, and the solid silver was worth £2,000,000. A galleon was taken by some frigates, and each captain got £60,000 for half an hour's work—double the spoil which each Bengal Governor got from Plassey.

From the De Beer mine six shareholders have drawn £11,000,000. From patent medicines nine men who died lately were worth 3·2 million pounds. Cort's iron-making inventions are said to have added £600,000,000 to England's wealth. Arkwright, Hargreave, Bessemer, and Gilchrist produced far more. Elias Whitney with his saw-gin doubled the wealth of the Southern States.

The wealth of India has enriched many. Two Greeks, an Armenian, and a Hebrew gentleman have been recent millionaires from India; but not an Englishman has amassed even half a million in the century past; about Scotchmen, they know best. The millionaire merchants of India, at Calcutta, Bombay, Benares, Jabalpur, Muttra, are nearly all Indians. May they flourish and multiply!

The author of "The Poverty of India" asks: "How much did the East India Company first drain away from India before it, as a matter of necessity, began to reimport bullion for its wants? What are the statistics of the imports and exports of bullion before 1801?"

Therefore, in 1878 he had not read any of the numerous

reports of 1773, 1783, 1848, Milburn's or Macpherson's works, all of which convey the information.

The Company before 1801 did not drain away any bullion from India; on the other hand, it sent to India from 1680 to 1801 above £43,000,000,* besides private investments. The writer makes a violent attack upon England, declares that she has drained India, without knowing anything about the bullion trade for a century, not having looked at ordinary well-known authorities, which would have shown, as far as they went, how completely erroneous were his views. The last issue of the *Calcutta Bengali* makes the debt of India £547,000,000; it should be £247,000,000.

Another point of some obscurity is the amount of the salaries paid to Europeans in India. On June 28, 1901, Professor Dutt, lecturing at the Fabian Society, I think, declared that out of 17·5 million pounds paid in salaries, only 3·5 million pounds went to natives, and "all good posts were reserved for the sons of Englishmen." So they got salaries of £14,000,000. But in 1900 he told us† that about £15,000,000 of "appointments were reserved for Europeans," and £3,000,000 for Indians. In 1902 he reduces the European share to £10,000,000.‡

In "Famines," p. 287, the appendix quotes the Parliamentary return, showing the salaries of Europeans in 1899 to be 87·7 million rupees, which at the exchange of the day would be, as at present, 5·8 million pounds; and this is practically the same as quoted by Mr. Caine in the House of Commons.

The Professor only mentions salaries, and therefore all three of his statements (£15,000,000, £14,000,000, £10,000,000) are erroneous. Mr. Naorojee, in his address at Stuttgart, is not so very far wrong.

"Every year about Rs. 200,000,000 were exacted from the Indians to pay to Europeans." "As they were taken by force, it was plunder." If we include salaries in India,

* Milburn, Preface.

† "Famines," xix.

‡ "Economic History," xiii.

pensions in England and India; interest and dividends paid to European creditors and shareholders, cost of stores, etc., the amount would be at least £25,000,000 (Rs. 375,000,000). Mr. Naorojee's meaning is dubious; in any case he understates it. The home charges alone are £17,000,000, and elsewhere in the same address he gives the "drain" "now about £30,000,000 every year." As the drain is all money paid to Europeans, they would receive in that case Rs. 450,000,000. So indigenous estimates contradict each other. Mr. Naorojee is rather nearer the truth.

Again, no official return gives the entire cost of the European Army in India. We know the salaries paid above Rs. 1,000 yearly for 1890, but not the sums paid to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

Mistaken ideas prevail about the present pay of Indian officials. The Governor - General formerly received Rs. 240,000, then equal to £24,000 or more; but first Lord George Bentinck lowered salaries, and then Sir Charles Metcalfe altered his own emolument from *sikkas* to currency, the first reduction. Then the pay became Rs. 250,000, which, with the fall of the rupee, is now equal to £16,666 only, while the Viceroy of Ireland receives £20,000.

As for the Governor of Bengal, such was the expense of that appointment that Sir John Woodburn, who died six years ago, spent on the average almost £1,000 yearly out of his private means.

Under the Moguls the salary of Bengal, apart from perquisites, was 3 lacs—about four times the present rate.

In 1836 the Hon. J. Shore brought out two volumes, from which his lamentations over the decay of India have often been quoted. He was then dying. The principal evils which he mentioned had been already remedied. The abandonment of the heavy import duties in 1825, the reduction of land revenue, the abolition of internal duties, the construction of canals, the prohibition of the Company's trade, the freedom of the Press, the improvement of the

native Civil Service, were all inaugurated before 1836. The last is the only one he refers to. Shore, when he was still vigorous, had written in a very different strain. I quote him from a work unknown in England concerning the progress which industry made when protected by British law :

“ Labourers, whom nothing would have induced to work more than six hours in twenty-four, and who often declined to work at all in a cloudy day, were willing to toil from sunrise to sunset.” *

“ In 1827 the highest rent was 4 annas per beega, or a share of the produce one-quarter to one-eighteenth ; but such was the incredible laziness of the cultivators that they were in a most wretched condition, living from hand to mouth, completely at the mercy of the petty money-lenders.”

Here Shore attributes the misery of the people to their indolence, and indicates how rapidly industry was spreading. He was stating what he himself witnessed during his long service in the Dhun, when he adopted Hindoo customs and costume, and his strong sympathies induced careful study and accurate statement.

The Dhun only became a British district in 1815, and probably fifteen years of law and order developed industry similarly everywhere. But though ordinary agriculture flourished, the handicrafts and manufactures which required skill and manual training did not improve. Wallich, the first authority of the day, describes “ tobacco as altogether bad,” “ native indigo as beyond all description bad,” “ cotton extremely foul,” “ miserable husbandry quite sufficient to deteriorate any cotton.” † Another specialist mentions the “ silk as foul and uneven,” and “ efforts made to teach an improvement in silk - ruling failed owing to inattention and carelessness of the natives.”

There may be a little exaggeration here, but the general

* Dehra Doon Settlement Report, pp. 163, 199.

† Report of 1832, pp. 193-8, 200, 2, 3.

truth is undeniable. In all these items, silk, cotton, tobacco, indigo, Indian cultivation was a failure seventy years ago, and is now, unless propelled by Europeans with unceasing effort.

Tea and jute are great successes, mainly because the finishing processes are worked by machinery.

I may speak of one benefit specially conferred by Bengal upon Britain. That the wealth obtained by Plassey was of no benefit to industrial England is certain, but it was of great advantage to the English in India.

In the next year (1758) commenced a fierce struggle with the French in Madras. The English lost Fort St. David at once. Lally, Bussy, De Estaigue, Crillon, excellent French officers, joined in besieging Madras with a superior army; everything was in favour of the French; but they had no money for the payment of Indian auxiliaries. The British had plenty. "Three ships arrived from Bengal with money and stores."* It is not impossible, if the French had captured that treasure, "the want of which alone disconcerted the scheme of English destruction," that Lally might have won the day.

Madras might have been captured in place of Pondicherry, and Southern India retained by the French for a long time. The Bengal treasure averted this misfortune.

It paid for the troops, 3,500 in number, enlisted and commanded by Mohammed Yusuf, the gallant but ill-fated chief, who for a number of years exhibited not only bravery but generalship, and all the qualities of a military leader, including fidelity to his English comrades.

The defence of Madras owed its success in no small part to Bengal treasure and to this daring Madras guerilla. I now deal with the drain of cereals.

Some officials plead that the export of food-grains and oil-seeds forms only a small percentage of the produce of India. Their idea is that India is a fertile country, the

* Mill, iii. 161; Orme, ii. 330, 426.

people industrious, and that even in famine years there is plenty of grain in the country.

I affirm, as the result of many years systematic inquiry, that these are largely delusions. Perhaps one-quarter of the surface may be styled fertile, and one-third of the people fairly industrious; while in good years the food-grain out-turn would not leave a large balance for export if the labouring classes were well fed, and in bad years the crop is not sufficient for the year's wants.

Sir W. Wedderburn and Mr. Dutt have repeatedly affirmed that even in famine years there is grain enough* in the country, but they have advanced no proof. As far back as 1869 I was making systematic inquiries on this subject as editor of the *Oudh Gazetteer* for Government, and as Settlement Officer for seven years I was employed on this work, and may claim to be an authority; a poor one, perhaps, but there is no better. I do not think that anyone has denied this proposition—viz., that while India has been in the last century becoming richer and richer, yet during the last thirty years the supply of food-grain has become smaller compared to the demand of a population increasing in numbers and in secondary wants.

There is in 1906 a very large item of import—Government stores—to the value of 6·1 million pounds. This was comparatively a trifle in 1833; only £177,044.† It is desirable to trace the growth and effect upon India of this Government store business. From 1708 to 1811 the total value of the stores exported to India was 9·9 million pounds, of which 8·7 were spent after 1761.‡ The average then was £174,000 roughly, from Plassey to Waterloo; from 1811 to 1828—stores cost 9·8 million pounds, or £500,000 yearly.§ This was while the Company traded in India.

After they ceased there was a rise. From 1834 to 1841 the average cost of stores was £292,000, but in 1846 the

* "Victorian Age," p. xi.

† Martin's "Colonies," 344.

‡ Macgregor, p. 125.

§ "Finances of India," 1830, p. 75.

cost of stores was £655,000,* though the railways had not then commenced, whose supplies now form the principal item. For some years stores cost on the average £2,000,000 yearly, but for the last eleven years 4·3 millions, and for the period 1902 to 1907 they have averaged 5·2 millions.† Government has repeatedly announced its anxiety to lessen this charge, and to encourage Indian industries. Committees have been appointed to discuss the matter, but the result is that the stores cost has mounted up to its present height, and will rise higher. It was 6·1 millions in 1906.

The evil is a serious one. Not only the tribute so called is largely increased, but the people of India are deprived of the wages of the occupation—above all, of the industrial training in mechanical arts which skilled mechanics should possess. Of these £5,000,000, about £4,000,000 are spent on high-class metal-work, rails, sleepers, steam-engines, and tools of precision. These are precisely the industries with which a nation should be built up and fortified; they are the cement of progress; they foster masculine strength of mind and body. They are specially needed in India.

Here, and not in the British Army or Civil Service, do we find what seems to be great and growing national jobbery, but is really only a stolid pursuit of purely departmental aims.

The trade of India is increasing with great rapidity. During the last twenty-five years its progress was 208 per cent., while that of the United States was only 170. It is all the more important that the features of this gigantic growth should be scrutinized. Is it healthy and sound?

That the people are indulging themselves with foreign luxuries—some of them rather hurtful—is too clear. Here are some items in 1905 which were mostly unknown in 1833. I omit “000”:

* Macgregor, 168.

† Statistical Abstract, p. 145.

			Value, £.
Cigarettes	...	...	296
Kerosine oil	...	...	1,496
Aniline dye	...	...	505
Beads, false pearls	...	...	127
Glass	...	...	753
Precious stones	...	...	853
Raw silk	...	...	468
Silk manufactures	...	...	1,327
Carriages	...	...	484

The country produces precious stones itself. The heavy import from foreign shores indicates, doubtless, growing wealth; but while so much poverty and starvation exist, the ostentation of personal extravagance in ornament is an economic evil.

The same remark applies, more or less, to all the above imports. At any rate, wise rulers used to put heavy duties on such articles. Most countries have in the past attempted to check luxury by sumptuary laws.

While there are some items in the export and import lists which are not for the country's good, others are very much so. The tea, jute, and cotton-weaving industries are in a high degree salutary, and all are new. The value of exports in 1906 was :

Tea	...	...	6.6 million pounds
Cotton fabrics	...	8.1	„ „
Jute	„	...	10.5 „ „

“Spinning and weaving have now become extinct,” says Sir Henry Cotton. The textile fabrics export has increased in the last year from 13.5 million pounds to 18.5 million pounds, but all the above staples, value £25,000,000 in the aggregate, are partly manufactured, or wholly.

Salt is not treated in detail, but it would not be candid to omit mention of the principal features of the trade and the tax, however painful the record. Salt was a Govern-

ment monopoly under the British from 1765 at any rate, but the rate then was only 35 per cent.* It was gradually increased. The *Gazetteer* (vol. iv.) informs us that salt duties were gradually raised from 1855 till they were "Rs. 3 4 annas per maund in Lower Bengal." But, in fact, the tax was about that rate so far back as 1803, for 3·6 millions of maunds were then sold for 14·8 million rupees† by Government, as the cost price was about 5 annas per maund, Government was then receiving Rs. 3, 10 annas per maund, or eleven times the first cost, as duty.

In Patna a poor family a century ago consumed one-ninth of the salt which satisfied a rich one. At this time the salt tax was about Rs. 3 per maund, and the poor seldom procured rice—poverty was extreme about 1808. Yet Montgomery Martin in 1832 could see nothing to condemn in either salt tax or land tax. Critics have been often wrong-headed up till the present date, denouncing fictitious grievances, neglecting real ones.

I deal briefly with the land tax, which, according to the Famine Commission Report, is 7 per cent. of the gross produce. Many writers have denounced the land tax as from 20 to 33 per cent. in Bombay, and 16 to 31 per cent. in Madras on wet land. The British Government has been attacked as taking an extortionate rent—much more than old Indian administrations, which were limited by the laws of Manu to one-sixth, or 17 per cent.,‡ at the highest. I have collected many authorities on this subject, some of them for the first time. They extend over a period of 2,000 years, and there will be found twenty-six statements by the best inquirers. All agree that the rent taken by

* Parliamentary Report, 1773, p. 17.

† Martin's "Colonies," p. 336.

‡ Vol. iii., 708, i. 21. The results of the salt tax appear in Buchanan Hamilton's "Eastern India." Writing about fertile districts—Rangpur, Purulia—we are told that the common fare of many consists of "rice boiled with potashes." He makes a salt census as follows for Rangpur :

Families using salt only	...	...	...	278,700
Families using salt and ashes	...	...	...	242,900
Families using nothing but ashes	...	...	...	25,400

former Indian Governments, or their agents, varied between 45 and 75 per cent. of the grain produce, except when the benevolent Akbar limited it to one-third. These authorities are Greek, French, Italian, Belgian, Scotch, English. The best, undoubtedly, was Buchanan Hamilton, the closest observer who has ever worked in India, who for many years in Madras and Bengal was employed in investigating the condition of the people of India. So far as I know, there is no statement on record to the contrary effect, except a paragraph in a private letter by Bishop Heber, that rents in British territory were higher than those paid in native States. This, of course, was simple hearsay by a traveller, though it is quite possible that in particular States there was exceptional moderation of assessment; he contradicts it elsewhere.

On the whole, land revenue is very moderate; the Famine Commission declared it to be 7 per cent. of the gross produce, varying from 3 per cent. in Bengal to 20 per cent. in Guzerat, as an extreme.*

I think it is about 10 per cent. probably. One mistake to which officers are liable is that they will not make sufficient allowance for inferior soils and bad seasons.

In any case, the land revenue is moderate. It was 1,996 lacs in 1870; it was 2,625 lacs in 1900; but the sterling value of those sums is—

1864	...	...	20·3	million pounds.
1870	...	...	19·5	" "
1900	...	...	17·6	" "
1906	...	...	19·8	" "

So that although large areas of new land have been brought under the plough, the real pressure and amount of the land revenues have been much reduced, to an extent which probably Sir Thomas Munro would never have approved.

Bolts, while making a venomous attack upon the English in India, mentions the land tax of their predecessors:

* *Gazetteer* iv., 216.

"While the Empire remained the general rate in Bengal was 3 sikkas, 7s. 6d. per beega of 16,000 square feet, 20s. per acre; but land with grain generally one-half of the crop, opium and sugar Rs. 15 per beega, pan as high as Rs. 32. In cases of backwardness ryots are severely chastised."

Taxation such as the above of course obstructed—in fact, almost prohibited—good cultivation. If the ryot worked hard and brought his land into high condition, fit for costly crops, he was taxed exorbitantly.

I found the same evil system in force in Oudh forty years ago: the landlord demanded such rents from the industrious tenant who raised garden crops. The English, at any rate for the last fifty years, have fixed moderate money rents, abandoning metayer, and not obstructing high cultivation by penalties upon industry.

In the old days, even under Todar Mul, the model revenue collector, "many good men died on the rack," says the contemporary historian.

Following the noble principles of 1768, the British have gradually improved their practice, till at length, according to the Famine Committee, they take as land tax only 7 per cent., instead of the 50 or 75 per cent. of their predecessors.

The trade in, and revenue from, spirits are interesting, and much to the credit of the British administration, whose efforts to increase revenue, and thereby also check consumption, have been unceasing.

A century ago the tax on imported spirits was 10 per cent., about 4 annas per gallon. This was raised in successive gradations to 8 annas per gallon, R. 1, R. 1·8, Rs. 3, Rs. 4, Rs. 5, Rs. 6, Rs. 7, this last two years ago.

Naturally the excise duty on country liquor corresponds with the Customs tariff.

The result of excise administration has been an immense improvement in the sobriety of India.

A century ago Buchanan, travelling on tours of inquiry

which lasted for seven years, recorded that in one district there were more drunkards than he had met in any part of the world, though he had come from Glasgow, and that the people spent more on drink than on food. At that time the Customs duty was 4 annas, or 6d. per gallon, and excise was a farce, so liquor was cheap, and drunkenness as common as in England when Hogarth drew Gin Lane and Beer Street.

Now, among other reforms, India has become a sober country. I firmly believe English administration has been the main cause of this.

Just as the "incredible laziness" which Shore noticed, the "uncommon sloth" which Buchanan and Gemelli recorded, Orme's "general tendency to indolence" have departed, given place to general industry, so the people of India, and not the high castes only, are now sober as a rule.

Sir Thomas Roe, in 1615, reports that Jahangir, the great Mogul, used to sit on his throne daily, save when "hindered by sickness or drink."

The great gains of both England and India from the trade with the East are partly balanced, no doubt, by losses. The occasion of the American Revolution was an attempt to aid the East India Company by allowing them to export tea to the States, paying a 3d. duty, when the English duty was 3s. per pound.*

The Company and India, no doubt, involved England in this most disastrous struggle, which sooner or later was perhaps inevitable.

When McCulloch, who had honestly studied the question, decided that the overlordship of India was not really a gain to England,† he could not consider several factors of the problem which had not then begun to operate.

The Suez Canal has shortened the route to India by 6,000 miles. Railways and steam-vessels have made the task of centralized government easier. Indian cotton had

* "Tariff Blue Book," p. 202. † "Commercial Dictionary," p. 583.

not then, as in 1862-1865, supplied the wants of Lancashire. Indian tea and jute have since 1870 become gigantic interests. Nor did India import then £27,000,000 of cotton piece-goods, nearly all of it from England.

Nor had India become a manufacturing country, with thousands of cotton, jute, ginning, tea, pressing, printing factories, and hundreds of coal, gold, manganese, mica mines, all employing English men and machinery.

This complex scheme of mutual benefit was forty years ago merely in the germ. There were no colleges, no universities, no general knowledge of English. More natives of India come to England in a single steamer now than had ever visited Europe as passengers in all the centuries before the Mutiny.

There are some hardships, and progress in reform has been too slow. But the real benefits, some of which were unknown to thoughtful students like McCulloch, have been concealed from Indians not only by silence : they have been distorted by garbled facts and figures ; they have been made to appear as wrongs and outrages. Half-truths and untruths have been piled up in many bulky volumes. Government, it is true, yearly brings out hundreds of volumes of reports and statistics, but they do not affect the popular mind with needful truth ; not only are they solely concerned with the present, never vindicating British doings in the past ; not only are they so bulky and intricate as to defy the ordinary student, but they contain masses of minute detail : the numbers of the goats, sheep, and even the asses, with their progeny each year, are recorded with pride ; each acre of crop, each yard of calico, the treasure import from 1834, opium sales from 1830, all heaped up in masses often confusing to the outsider.

Through this maze the student must steer in order to discover the real index facts, from which to test the progress and prosperity of India.

I have had to go over all these departmental subjects, as no *Gazetteer* or report contains the facts for a sufficient

period. I give the tariff on spirits for the whole of the century, so also the salt tax, the opium trade, the bullion imports, the cotton and piece-goods trade, the silk, the whole of the commerce since 1805.

There is good authority for these remote studies, for Lord Chatham and Lord Morley have avowed the great need "to judge of the present state of things and to discover the future by a careful review of the past."

Throughout policy has been humane, though sometimes blundering.

Instructions were issued in 1769 to the supervisors, when the Company was for the first time commencing to govern directly through British officials.

"Our object is not increase of rent or accumulation of demands, but, by fixing such as are legal, abolishing such as are fraudulent, not only to redress present grievances, but to do everything that would conduce to the improvement of the land, the control of the ryots, the extension and relief of trade, the increase and encouragement of any useful manufacture, the general benefit and happiness of the province."*

Many similar orders might be quoted, the last being in 1853, shortly before the Company ceased to rule.

It is true, as Macaulay points out, that, while the Company preached benevolence, their demands upon the taxpayers were sometimes rapacious. He probably referred to the twenty-five years after Plassey, when the British Government were hard pressed, fighting for existence against half the world, struggling also to curb the greed of their own servants, European and Indian; when Mohamed Raza's pay was 9 lacs, and the Bengal Commander-in-Chief drew a salary and commission of 4 lacs, and the Governor of Bengal had $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs. Some officials grew rich while the people starved and died in 1770.

Even then the Company was striving towards better things, getting rid of the cruel instruments and practices

* Kaye's "East India Company," pp. 167, 271-273.

which were its inheritance from former rulers, obstructed at every step by those who had of old made unholy gains by oppression, and who wished to conceal their evil methods; men whose avarice had no satiety strove to blind their masters and go on heaping up riches, as Kasim Ali and Murshid Kuli Khan, and every other satrap, had been doing for generations.

How far the marvellous progress of India in commerce and industry is due to the absence of political excitement is another moot point.

Smiles mentions that the Huguenots in France devoted themselves to various crafts, to professions, science, with success beyond all belief, largely because their religion debarred them from politics and from employment by the State. Therefore in weaving, silk-making, linen and damask, pottery, jewellery, lace, Huguenots were the best artisans. Lees made stockings, and Palissy was the foremost of artists. Both were persecuted for their faith.

The changes in India have been mostly for good. The old travellers, Stevens, Fitch, Gemelli, and Governors like Lord Clive and the first Lord Minto, all remark on the "nakedness of the Gentoos"; they referred to the masses. The upper classes always were well dressed, and now the peasants' garb is surely cleaner, more sensible, and becoming than that in England. The increase in expenditure here is probably anything above £50,000,000 yearly.

The people are now more sober than the English; they always were kindly and gentle in domestic relations. They are less obsequious, more outspoken, and no one can honestly speak of their untruthfulness as Lord Teignmouth and Lord Metcalfe, with nearly every other authority, did a century ago.

The Oriental has of old had a craving for the plain truth. One gospel distinctly, however, declares* that a "falsehood is preferable to truth if true evidence would occasion the death of a man who has not been a grievous offender,"

* Jones's "Hindu Law," p. 203.

also to "women at a time of dalliance or on a proposal of marriage." "It is no deadly sin to take a light oath"; "cakes of rice and milk fully expiate the venial sin of benevolent falsehood"; also "for fodder for a cow," a "giver of false evidence from a pious motive shall not lose a seat in heaven." Benevolence is better than anything.

Partly on this account the truth about India is hard to discover; partisans, even conscientious men in ordinary life, insensibly almost glide into the "benevolent falsehood" which the great Indian sage describes as sometimes "preferable to truth," which "wise men call the speech of the gods."

In England most of us have been taught differently; one of our sages still with us writes: "Let us not admit the notion in any form that error can have provisional utility."*

The conclusion of my studies is that England in commercial matters has treated India fairly, and most certainly has not strangled her manufactures by throttling tariffs. I give three quotations:

The Commons' Select Committee of 1783 were "instructed to consider how the British possessions in the East Indies may be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to the country, and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants may be best promoted" (June 25, 1783).

The Board of Control in 1802, March 25,† "agrees with the Governor-General (Marquis Wellesley) that the class of manufacturers (weavers) is entitled to the constant protection and encouragement of the State; otherwise that useful and valuable body of men might experience distress, the fabrics be debased, valuable branches of manufacture now supported by the Company wholly abandoned or materially injured."

Governor-General Adam, in 1823, May 22, tried to stop the "decline of the beautiful fabrics of the East, which was greatly to be lamented," and to "place our Indian subjects

* Morley's "Essays."

† Milburn, ii. 227.

in respect to what was once their great staple" (piece-goods) "on a footing with the manufacturers of England."

He proposed the abolition of internal transport duties, and the reduction of English import duties, and his views were carried out : English duties were reduced on all piece-goods from 71 and 35 per cent. to 10 per cent. The reform was completed in 1826.

Montesquieu, about 1750, divided the people of India into "the wretches who pillage and the wretches who are pillaged." Such was the India of the Moguls.

Look at this picture, and then on that which appears in the India of to-day.

Great have been the mutual benefits conferred by England and India upon each other ; reciprocity made their tariffs tolerant and benignant.

The boons have not been material only. One great lesson has been taught by the Hindu to the Christian—toleration. You remember the noble words of the great Maharaja addressed to Aurangzeeb, when he again imposed the poll-tax on the Hindus and Christians.

"When the gong sounds in the Hindu temple, or the *azan* from the Moslem mosque, or the bell from the Christian church, is it not the same great God who is worshipped by all?"

Thus the Hindu has tried to lead us along one of the "great highways of civilization," to use Lord Morley's phrase. I have tried to relate some relevant facts in the spirit of diligence, reverence, truth, and charity. Forgive failures.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

WE cannot refrain at the beginning of this *Report* to protest against the decision of the last Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen not to publish the Proceedings of that assembly. This is a painful blow to the existence of these Congresses. When the Congress of Hamburg decided to publish but a short summary of the works presented, which was done this procedure was severely criticized by a great number of Orientalists. The Congress at Algiers, which followed, published several volumes of proceedings, and the receptions and feasts were extraordinarily brilliant under the African sky—nothing so splendid had been seen since the famous Congress of Stockholm. At Copenhagen the receptions were also splendid. But the receptions pass; the “records” alone remain. And what will the members say who were not able to attend the Congress? Have they not a right to something? And what has become of that right?

We draw attention to an interesting and very practical bibliographic record of Orientalism which appeared recently. This is first the Catalogue, No. 15 (1908) of R. Haupt,* very well done—a book that ought to be in every library—and then the “Orientalischer Literaturbericht,”† published by the same booksellers and equally well done; it is divided into two parts—European publications and indigenous publications (Morocco, Syria, Egypt, India, China, etc.).

C. Brockelmann has published in the collection “*Porta Linguarum Orientalium*” a comparative grammar of the

* “Hilfsmittel zum Studium der nichteuropäischen Sprachen.” Leipzig, 1908.

† Band i., Heft 1, October, 1908 (4-6 Hefte a year).

Semitic languages,* intended for instruction, and which takes the place of the grammar of a similar kind by H. Zimmern, long out of print. This succinct grammar has nothing in common with the "Grundriss" of the same author, which we noticed in our *Report* of July, 1908, and which Vol. I. is now complete.†

F. Macler has prepared with great care the catalogue of Armenian and Georgian manuscripts (numbering 323 and 26 respectively) of the "Bibliothèque nationale" in Paris.‡ He has prefaced it with a very interesting introduction on the history of this collection, the origin of which goes back to the sixteenth century; but most of the manuscripts have been collected under the reign of Louis XV. by the mission to Constantinople in 1728-1730 of the Abbot Fr. Sevin.

HEBREW, ARAMEAN, PHENICIAN, ETC.

We have to draw attention to two new fasciculi with their atlas of plates of *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. The first contains 1,761 Aramaic inscriptions of the Sinai peninsula.§ They are all short Nabataean inscriptions, consisting of scarcely more than proper names.

The most interesting localities where these inscriptions have been collected are the Wâdi Feirân, Mount Serbâl, the Djebal-el-Moneidjâh—where the inscriptions are engraved, not on the rocks, as everywhere else on the Sinaitic peninsula, but on small red granite blocks, used in the construction of the small circular enclosure for sacrifices—the Wâdi Ed-Deir, etc. The fasciculus terminates with very useful concordance tables, enabling you to trace in the *Corpus* the Aramean inscriptions published by Euting, Grey, Beer, Lepsius, etc.—that is to say, all the inscriptions

* "Kurzgefasste vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen." Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1908.

† "Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen." I. Band. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1908.

‡ E. Leroux, Paris, 1908.

§ "Pars secunda inscriptiones aramaicas continens," tomus ii., fasciculus i. Parisiis: e Reipublica e typographeo, 1907 (4°).

that appeared elsewhere. Finally, there is a table of all the proper nouns of divinities and persons.

The second fasciculus of *Corpus* contains 690 native Phenician inscriptions of Carthage.* To the *Corpus* one has to add the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie sémitique*, also published by the "Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres," and of which the first instalment of the second volume has appeared.† It is known that in this record all the new discovered Semitic inscriptions are published, in whatever language they may be (with the exception of those in cuneiform characters and in Arabic).

To the dictionary of the Bible by the Abbé F. Vigouroux has been added fasciculus 32 (Epistle of St. Peter—Prayer)‡, where we draw attention to the following articles: Biblical Precious Stones (with a coloured plate), Weights in the Old Testament, Polyglot Bibles, Hebrew Punctuation, Poetry in Palestine, Purple.

H. Meinhold has brought out a fine and popular volume on what he calls "The Wisdom of Israel."§ He thereby means the ideas that old Israel had of God, the world, mankind, duty, etc., not only in the so-called books of *wisdom*, such as Job and the Proverbs, but also in the Prophets.

B. D. Eerdmans has begun the publication of "Studies on the Old Testament," of which two fasciculi have appeared.|| These studies will be sure to draw attention to the distinguished professor of Leiden, as he declares his descent of the critical scientific school (Graf Kuenen-Wellhausen). In the fasciculus on the Genesis the author takes pain to establish that Astruc made a mistake in deriving the names Elohim and Jahve from two different

* "Pars prima inscriptiones phœnicias continens," tomus ii., fasciculus tertius. Parisiis, 1908 (4°).

† Paris: "Imprimerie nationale," 1907 (8°).

‡ Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908.

§ "Die Weisheit Israels in Spruch, Sage und Dichtung." Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1908.

|| "Die Komposition der Genesis." Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1908.

sources. The Biblical critic derived from the clever discovery of the celebrated French physician is, then, radically wrong ; in the same work the author tries to establish that the theory of the sacerdotal code (*Die Priester-Schrift*) is altogether improbable. In the second fasciculus,* on the pre-history of Israel, the author endeavours to establish the absolute historicity of the patriarchal times. One cannot ignore the interest of this attempt of reaction against the school of Kuenen-Wellhausen, but it is remarkable as coming from one of the leaders of the Unitarian movement—that is to say, of the Liberal-Protestantism which has long since adopted the critical conclusions of the school of Graf Kuenen-Wellhausen.

In the "*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*" of 1908 we point out two interesting articles—the one by H. Spoer on the Dolmens of Palestine;† the other by M. Siemens concerning the famous work of Astruc on Genesis.‡

In the collection "*Der alte Orient*," Heft 1, 10 Jahrg.§ M. von Oppenheim speaks of the result of his excavations in 1899 at Tell Halaf, in Mesopotamia, where he found, amongst other things, a statue of a veiled goddess, which he identifies as Ishtar. Some lines of cuneiform inscriptions have been discovered in his excavations.

D. Cocorda writes an interesting thesis (dissertation of a student) on the Book of Job.||

THE TALMUD AND RABBINICAL LITERATURE.

The German translation of the Talmud of Babylon by L. Goldschmidt has been increased by a new fasciculus

* "*Die Vorgeschichte Israels*." Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1908.

† "*Versuch einer Erklärung des Zusammenhanges zwischen Dolmen, Mal- und Schalensteine in Palestina*" (Heft 4).

‡ "*Hat J. G. Eichhorn die 'Conjectures' von J. J. Astruc gekannt, als er 1779 seine Abhandlung über 'Mosis Nachrichten von der Noachischen Flut' veröffentlichte?*" (Heft 3)."

§ "*Der Tell Halaf und die verschleierte Göttin*." Leipzig: J. E. Hinrichs, 1908.

|| "*Le problème du livre de Job et la personnalité de l'auteur*." Étude de psychologie religieuse, Genève, Université, 1908.

(8^{ter} Band, 3^{te} Lief.): the treatise Menakhot (1^{te} Hälfte)--that is to say, von den Speisopfern = the oblations or offerings consisting of vegetable food.*

H. Strack has just brought out the fourth edition of his *Introduction to the Talmud*.† This new edition has been considerably enlarged. It is scarcely necessary to recommend this excellent work. The best, in our opinion, for getting the Talmud known and appreciated at its real value would be to have it translated into all the principal languages of Europe, and especially into French; this is the greatest praise we can give it. The following is the plan of the work, which will help one to appreciate all its richness and clearness: I. Preliminary Remarks (explications of Talmudic tenures, etc.); II. History of the Talmud; III. Divisions of the Mishna (of the Talmuds); IV. Contents of the Sixty-Three Treatises of the Mishna, according to the Order of Moses Maimonides; V. The Talmud of Palestine; VI. The Talmud of Babylon; VII. The Extra-Canonical Treatises; VIII. History of the Text of the Talmud; IX. the Writers of the Talmud in their Chronological Order; X. Characteristics of the Talmud; XI. Specimens of the Translated Texts; XII. Bibliography.

F. Falk has begun the publication of a very interesting work in the "*Mitteilungen zur Jüdischen Volkskunde*"‡ on the Books of Samuel, translated into German in strophes like in the "*Nibelungen*" of the fifteenth century. We will come back to this important work when the publication is more advanced.

ISLAM AND MUSSULMAN COUNTRIES.

We can only mention here the large work of L. Caetani (Principe di Teano), "*Les Annales de l'Islam*," the two

* Leipzig: O. Harrasowitz, 1908.

† "*Einleitung in den Talmud*." 4^{te} neubearbeitete Auflage, 8°. Leipzig: J. E. Hinrichs, 1908.

‡ "*Die Bücher Samuelis in Deutschen Nibelungenstrophen des XV. Jahrhunderts*" (Hefte 26 und 27). Leipzig, 1908.

parts of vol. ii.* of which have reached us recently. This magistral publication is as remarkable for its form as it is for its contents. It exhibits colossal labour on the part of its author. The documents that have been consulted are very numerous, and their evidence and their value are discussed with the greatest competence by the author. We are not able to give here even a brief analysis of these two enormous volumes, so rich is their contents; they go from the year 7 to the year 12 of the Hegira. It is a magnificent scientific monument raised to the glory of Islam.

The fine translation of El-Bokhâri ("Les Traditions islamiques") by O. Houdas has been enriched by a third volume† of particular interest. We find in it chapters on the Ansâr, the interpretation of the Koran, marriage, and the repudiation of it. A greater number of notes would have been of service to the reader, as was the case in the first volume of this precious work.

R. Dussaud has published an interesting work on "Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam."‡ It is principally a study of epigraphy and of Semitic languages (the dialect and the Safaitic pantheon according to the inscriptions of Safâ). The doubts and the objections that the author raises, by the way, on the theory of the Egyptian origin of the Phenician alphabet are not very convincing.

E. F. Gautier, of the École supérieure des Lettres d'Alger, has brought out a volume of great interest on the "Sahara Algérien."§ These are the subjects of which it treats, in the order followed by the author: Onomasticon (definition and study of Saharian terms—*hammadâ*, *erg*, *nebka*, etc.); the Wady and the dunes; Saharian ethnography; the Zulfana; region of the Saura; Gurara and

* "Annali dell' Islam." Vol. ii., tomo i. (78 and 719 pp. in 4°), vol. ii., tomo ii. (847 pp. in 4°), with 3 maps, 2 plans, illustrations, and an alphabetic index of vols. i. and ii. Milano: U. Hoepli, 1907.

† Paris: E. Leroux, 1908.

‡ Paris: E. Leroux, 1907.

§ "Missions au Sahara." Tome i. (65 figures and maps and 96 photographs, in 8°). Paris: A. Colin, 1908.

Tuat ; Tidikelt and Muhidir-Ahnet. As appendices there are itineraries, astronomic observations, mineralogic studies, the mollusks of the Sahara, inscriptions, etc. It is a work full of observations of the greatest scientific value.

We draw the attention of our readers on a work of high interest, which has come out a few years ago on French West Africa ; the author is G. Poulet, Administrator of the Colonies.* It is quite a mine of information, drawn from the best sources on French Mauritania (geography, history, races, languages, religion, colonial politics, etc.).

One of the last numbers of the " Archives Marocaines " (vol. xi., No. 1)† contains the translation by E. Michaux-Bellaire of a very important Arabic document. It is a *fetwa* of the celebrated Sheikh Sidia of Butilimit (Senegal), in which this marabout, whose authority is so great in Mauritania, enjoins the natives to submission to the French Government. This is curious to read, as it is followed by an approbation of the Sheikh Saad Buh, the brother of the famous Sheikh Mâ-el-Aînîn, of Segiet-el-hamrâ, the fanatical enemy of the French and of all Europeans.

Madame C. du Gast has published, under the title of " Le Maroc agricole,"‡ an interesting work on the Fahs, that is on that triangular corner of land between the Bay of Tangier, the Atlantic, and the Wadi Tahaddart in the south. There are two remarks in respect of this work. The author observes that the principal square measure of area is the *zudja*, the *double* yoke of oxen being able to plough a space of ground. The ancient Hebrews had the same superficial area, which they called *semed*—yoke, pair of oxen. The author thinks that the decree issued to the police by the Act of Algeciras will encounter the greatest difficulties in its application ; we are of the same opinion, and experience have already shown it.

* " Les Maures de l'Afrique occidentale française." Paris: A. Chalamel, 1904 (with map and genealogical tables of tribes).

† Paris: E. Leroux, 1907.

‡ Paris: " Imprimerie nationale," 1908 (8°). (Rapport adressé au Ministre de l'Agriculture.)

There are few literary works possessing so much charm and giving such a real and living impression of the Islam as the narratives of Isabella Eberhardt.* The author, who writes French remarkably well, was of Russian and Mussulman extraction. After the death of her parents, smitten by the life of the Arabs, and speaking the language of the children of the Sahara, she adopted the costume of the native horsemen of Algeria; she married a sub-officer of the Spahis, and led to the end of her life, abruptly cut short by an accident in 1904, the existence of the nomads of the desert.

A new work has appeared on Behaism. Under the title of "Les Leçons de Saint Jean d'Acre," Laura Clifford Barney collected the conversations which she had with 'Abd-ul-Beha, the son of Beha-Ullah, the actual head of Behaism. These discourses have been translated from Persian into French by H. Dreyfus.† An English version has also appeared of the same text.‡ In the conversations put together by Miss Barney the eclectic character of Behaism is well brought out. Behaism is considered as a reform of Islam; but is it still really Islamism? I, for myself, beg to doubt it.

Finally, we draw attention to two interesting theses of students, the one from Geneva, the other from Lausanne: *Mahomet dans son temps*, by R. Ducasse,§ and *Proverbes abyssins* (texte, traduction, et annotations), by J. Faïtlovitch.||

* "Notes de Route: Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie." Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1908. "Dans l'ombre chaude de l'Islam" (en collaboration avec V. Barrucand). Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1908.

† Paris: E. Leroux, 1908.

‡ London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1908.

§ Genève, Université, 1908.

|| Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907 (thèse de Doctorat ès Lettres de l'Université de Lausanne).

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ANTI- OPIUM MOVEMENT.

BY MARSHALL BROOMHALL, B.A.,
Editorial Secretary, China Inland Mission.

IN this short article the sole object is to summarize the present-day position of the Anti-Opium Movement. There is no need to enter into any discussion as to the past history of the opium trade and the relative responsibilities of China and Great Britain for the traffic, but rather solely to confine ourselves to the problems of to-day for which we are responsible.

It is assumed at the outset that the resolution of the House of Commons passed in 1891, and reaffirmed in 1906, is now beyond the limits of serious discussion. That resolution as proposed and unanimously agreed to on May 30, 1906, was as follows :

“Resolved that this House reaffirms its conviction that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, and requests His Majesty’s Government to take such steps as may be necessary for bringing it to a speedy close.”

Almost simultaneously with this reopening of the subject by the British Government definite steps were also being taken by China, for only four months before the debate in the House of Commons four of China’s greatest viceroys, men ruling over 179 millions of people, had appealed through their Foreign Office for assistance from this country in dealing with the evils of opium, to the end that the people might be encouraged to abandon the habit. On September 20, 1906, the great Anti-Opium Edict was issued by the Chinese Government, thus starting a campaign from which, as the *Times* truly said, “the strongest of Governments might have flinched.”

Into those causes which have brought about these simultaneous reopenings of the question there is no need to enter. The forces at work have been many, some of them complex and hidden, but from 1906 undoubtedly the modern Anti-Opium Movement must be considered as having entered upon a new era. Whatever may have been the predominating causes and influences, the main point is that unitedly Great Britain and China officially reacknowledged the evils and immorality of the trade and habit, and entered upon a policy for its gradual suppression.

We propose now to follow the main outlines of this campaign in Great Britain and China, dealing with China first.

The Edict of September 20, 1906, marks the official entry of China upon this modern crusade. The Edict was, doubtless, encouraged by the tone of Lord Morley's speech in the House of Commons in the preceding month of May, when Lord Morley stated that "he thought he might say that to any plan for the restriction of the consumption of opium brought forward in good faith the Government of India and His Majesty's Government would say that they would agree to it, even though it might cost us some sacrifice."

If it be borne in mind that it is no more easy to reform men in China than it is in Great Britain, and that financial considerations and vested interests are just as real with the Chinese as with us, it will perhaps be more easy to appreciate the true value of China's effort, and we shall be the better enabled to sympathize with her in regard to those difficulties and forms of opposition she is bound to encounter. "Apart from the difficulty of reforming people by legislative enactment," wrote Sir John Jordan, "the fiscal side of the question is a very important factor in the situation, and one which will appeal to the Chinese quite as much as it would in any Western Government. The dislocation of the finances which the enforcement of

the decree would entail is a far more serious question in the present state of the (Chinese) National Exchequer than the similar problem with which the Indian Government will have to deal in sacrificing the opium revenue," for the total revenue in China from this drug is estimated at about £6,768,750.

The famous Edict of September 20 was followed by detailed regulations for its enforcement, which regulations received Imperial sanction on November 21. These were classed under eleven heads, which, briefly stated, were as follows :

Article I. To restrict the cultivation of the poppy, in order to remove the root of the evil.

Article II. To issue licences to smokers in order to prevent others contracting the habit.

Article III. To reduce the craving for opium within the limited time in order to remedy chronic addiction thereto.

Article IV. To prohibit opium houses.

Article V. To closely inspect opium shops in order to facilitate preventive measures.

Article VI. To manufacture remedies for the cure of the opium habit.

Article VII. To allow the establishment of anti-opium societies in order to promote this good movement.

Article VIII. To charge the local authorities with the duty of leading the movement among the local gentry and heads of guilds.

Article IX. To strictly forbid the smoking of opium by officials, in order that an example may be set for others to follow.

Article X. To enter into negotiations for the prohibition of the import of foreign opium, in order to close the sources of supply.

Article XI. All officials to issue proclamations promulgating these rules.

Into the details of these eleven articles limits of space will not allow us to enter here, but they can be found in the White Paper, China, No. 1, 1908. A brief summary of some of the subsequent Edicts may, however, be given. On February 7, 1907, an Edict was issued which had special reference to the matter of the cultivation of native opium. This was followed by another Edict on June 25, 1907, which afresh emphasized the commands given before. That China was in earnest was manifest by another Edict issued on October 10, 1907, ordering Kuei Pin, Prince of Jui, Tsai Kung, Prince of Chuang, Lu Pao Chuang and Chen Min Kan, the President and Vice-President of the Censorate, to resign their posts because they had not, as ordered, set the good example to the people by breaking off the opium habit. It is not without significance that Lu Pao Chuang, President of the Censorate, subsequently died through his efforts to carry out the commands of the Imperial Government.

On March 22, 1908, China issued another Edict, in which she acknowledged England's promise of assistance. Some few words from this Edict must be quoted: "We are glad to note that the Government of Great Britain has now consented to reduce the importation of opium each year, and that other friendly countries are also gladly willing to assist us in the matter. . . . If we in China show ourselves unable within the specified period of three short years to reduce the drug consumption within our dominions, how can we show our appreciation of the friendly offices of our neighbours? . . . Indeed, once we fail, it is to be feared that the opportunity may not come again to us. If we show ourselves eternally unable to get rid of the fatal habit, we shall be a lost country." Then follow urgent commands to the officials that there be no evasion of their duty.

A further step was taken by the publication of an Edict on April 7, 1908, which Edict appointed Prince Kung, the Assistant Grand Secretary, together with several of the Vice-Presidents of the Imperial Assembly, as Special

Commissioners for opium prohibition. The duties of these men are then detailed—viz., the selection of doctors and the opening of hospitals for the assistance of would-be reformers; the inspection of yamens, and the denunciation of all officials who should seek to evade the law. A sum of 30,000 taels was at once placed at the disposal of these Commissioners for their expenses, and a sum of 60,000 taels per annum voted for the same purposes.

Again, on May 4, 1908, an Imperial rescript was issued commanding all civil and military officials above the third rank to report themselves to the Throne as to whether they are opium-smokers or not, and stating that in future no officials will be employed by the Chinese Government unless they can prove that they are not opium-smokers. This was followed by another Imperial rescript on May 25, ordering officials to furnish a detailed report of all lands under poppy cultivation, and ordering a gradual reduction, so that by 1915 the cultivation of the poppy should entirely cease, and be made a criminal act on the part of any who attempted to grow the drug.

The last Imperial Edict of which we have any record up to the present was issued on July 30, 1908, in which Edict two Manchu Sub-Chancellors of the Grand Secretariat were cashiered for falsely signing a declaration, stating that they did not smoke opium, when the facts were otherwise; and more recently still, in August last, Prince Kung, the head of the Special Commissioners, denounced to the Throne no fewer than twenty metropolitan officials of high rank for a similar offence.

While some may be inclined to say that China is too quick in publishing Edicts, and too slow in carrying them out, it cannot in this case be said that the Edicts have been inoperative. The cashiering of high officials because of failure to obey, the death of some in their efforts to conform, are surely evidences that strenuous efforts are being made, in spite of the almost overwhelming difficulties, to carry out the published programme. Sir John Jordan, in the White

Paper, China, No. 1, 1908, said: "So far as the rules are concerned, they seem to leave nothing to be desired in regard to their completeness of scope and thoroughness of aim, and the main point which arises for consideration is whether they are capable of being enforced in practice. On this there will naturally be much divergence of view; but I am able to state that, so far as my opportunities of judging extend, there is a balance of well-considered opinion in favour of the affirmative answer. The magnitude of the task is admittedly enormous, but it is pointed out that the movement will have the support of public sentiment, and that the authors of the regulations, whose sincerity is beyond all doubt, are determined to see them carried into effect."

Undoubtedly the most important and reliable proof as to China's sincerity is to be found in the matter of poppy cultivation. While space will not allow a detailed survey of what is being done throughout China as a whole, the importance of this aspect of the question is so great that reference must be made to two or three provinces which are the main centres of poppy cultivation.

The China Trade Report, presented to both Houses of Parliament in October, 1908, has, in the section devoted to native opium, the following sentence: "Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow are, *par excellence*, the opium-producing provinces of China, and it is there that the restrictive measures should have the first visible effect." Let us first take the evidence of the White Paper, China, No. 2, 1908, on this point. In the introductory summary it is acknowledged, "There is the gratifying evidence from many provinces of the reduction of the area under poppy cultivation. . . . This reduction, which, though slight in actual amount, is fairly general throughout the Empire."

Now as to the three provinces specially referred to. Of Szechwan it states: "The area under poppy between Chungking and Chengtu has been much reduced. . . . It is confidently asserted that the cultivation is on the decrease rather than on the increase. . . . There is the tendency

among the farmers to abandon the cultivation of the poppy without a protest." These brief extracts show that progress is being made, while it is, at the same time, acknowledged that there are considerable signs of laxity and failure. Concerning this province the writer has independent evidence through personal correspondence. Mr. Montagu Beauchamp states: "I am very much struck with the real and widespread suppression of the growth of opium," and others write to the same effect (see letter in the *Times* of October 3).

Concerning the Yunnan Province, the White Paper states: "The energetic Viceroy has shown great zeal in reducing smoking and cultivation in and near the capital. Practically all the ground is now planted with other crops. He has reduced the abolition time limit from ten to three years; and cultivators are registered. At Talifu the officials and gentry are giving up the habit." With this report the writer's correspondence with the province of Yunnan agrees, one letter stating that, in consequence of the increased crops of cereals, grain is considerably cheaper. The following extract is from the *North China Herald* for September 26:

"Whatever may be said of Viceroy Hsi-liang, it must be admitted that he is in earnest about the abolition of opium in Yunnan and Kweichow. This year opium-cultivation has been so much restricted in Yunnan as to stop practically all export of it, and in consequence trade is being completely revolutionized, and for the time being is paralyzed.

"Numerous petitions are being sent in to the Viceroy, asking him to relax his strict policy in regard to opium. But so far from listening to such petitions, though accompanied by threats of rebellion, etc., he calls upon his highest officials to address meetings and hold anti-opium lectures in the city."

Of the province of Kweichow the White Paper states: "Here, as in Yunnan, a far more genuine attempt is being made to stamp out the evil." The writer's correspondence from this province is not quite so encouraging if the south of the province be excepted.

So much, then, for China's policy and action. While it may be possible for those who desire to criticize to find evidences of failure on China's part, it is impossible if the enormous complexity and difficulty of the problem be sympathetically considered, not to be amazed at the effect of the Central Government's edicts throughout an Empire extending to over two million square miles.

We now turn to Great Britain, and ask, What is the British policy?

The House of Commons, in its resolution, reaffirmed "its conviction that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, and requests His Majesty's Government to take such steps as may be necessary for bringing it to a speedy close." The Pan-Anglican Conference, at which 242 Bishops and Archbishops were present, and the Lambeth Conference, in their resolutions appealed "for all possible insistence on the affirmation of the House of Commons that the Indian opium traffic with China is morally indefensible," and the Wesleyan Conference and the Baptist and Congregational Unions have passed resolutions urging the speedy suppression of the trade. The British self-governing Colonies of New Zealand and Australia have made it unlawful for any person to import opium into the Colonies in any form suitable for smoking, and Japan and the United States, etc.—countries which, as Lord Morley stated, "knew opium at close quarters"—have forbidden the importation or possession of the drug for any other than medicinal uses, and in accordance with the debate in the British House of Commons on May 6, action is also to be taken in the British Crown Colonies of Hong-Kong and the Straits Settlements.

Now, in face of these facts and these resolutions, in which the political and ecclesiastical resolutions are agreed, what is being done? Lord Morley acknowledged in his speech that there were "now two parties in any future movement for abolition"—China and the Government of India with the House of Commons—and he promised, even

at "some sacrifice," to meet the views of the Chinese Government. Let us first look at the facts.

Everybody knows that the bulk of the opium grown in India is used in China. The *Pioneer*, an Indian paper, states that there must be an enormous quantity of opium in reserve for the China market, for a year ago 36,000 maunds of unmanufactured opium were in the vats of the Patna and Ghazipur factories, besides 111,000 chests lying ready for export. So much for the reserves.

During 1906-1907, 564,585 acres were under cultivation in the Ganges valley, which area will, for the year ending 1907-1908, be reduced to about 500,000 acres. These facts indicate the sources of supply. What now about the quantities being imported into China?

For the last three years there has been a slight gradual increase of foreign opium imported into China; the figures are as follows:

Year.	Indian.	Persian, etc.	Total.
1905 ...	44,493 chests	1,690 chests	46,183 chests.
1906 ...	46,935 "	795 "	47,730 "
1907 ...	47,040 "	1,490 "	48,530 "

Now, according to the recent arrangement entered into between the Indian Government and China, there is to be a reduction in the export of opium from India for the next three years. It was estimated that 67,000 chests of opium were exported from India annually, of which quantity 51,000 found their way to China. Allowing for an annual reduction of one-tenth of this estimated quantity imported into China, an annual reduction of 5,100 chests per annum for the next three years was agreed to, so that the total export of opium from India is to be as follows:

Year.	Opium.
1907	67,000 chests.
1908	61,900 "
1909	56,800 "
1910	51,700 "

In briefly summing up the facts before us there are two main points to be borne in mind. One of these is that Great Britain has only pledged herself to a policy of reduction for three years, making the future depend upon the action of China. While it is hardly conceivable that a nation which has publicly acknowledged the trade as "morally indefensible" could return to an enlarged export, the official documents are, however, so worded as to leave her free to do so. Such a policy has well been termed "conditional morality." By no system of ethics can that which is "morally indefensible" be justified. Two blacks cannot make a white, nor two wrongs one right. The position of those who declare that the use of opium is harmless is at least consistent, though untenable; but the position which acknowledges a thing as immoral, and yet seeks to justify its continuance because of the action of others, is wholly illogical. It is inexcusable from every point of view.

The other main point for consideration is that, even supposing a policy of annual reduction should be continued at the close of the three years agreed upon, a course of conduct is outlined which should be unendurable to those who believe that right is right and wrong is wrong. This has been forcefully stated by Dr. J. C. Gibson in the following words:

"You say that the sale of 61,900 chests of opium in 1908 is immoral. Then, I want to know, What about the sale as proposed of 56,800 chests in 1909? Is that moral, or is it immoral? And I want to know, further, What about the sale which we are now asked to look forward to of 403,200 chests before we stop the trade? If it is an immoral trade, it is surely a too leisurely way of proceeding to cut off the immorality.

"What if a man were to say that it was quite true that he had not been keeping the Ten Commandments, but he admitted the force of the argument that he ought to keep them; so for this year he will begin to observe the First

Commandment. Next year he will try to add to it the Second, and he hopes that ten years hence he may be found keeping the whole Ten Commandments. You would not call him a religious man ; you would not call him a moral man ; and yet that is what is put forward to us as the dictate of political wisdom."

It certainly appears strangely inconsistent that while we are so much concerned about the good faith of China, and make our policy depend upon her sincerity, we should formulate a policy which upon any basis is inexcusable. If ethics mean anything they surely cannot be juggled with even for money. It will be known to most that on January 1, 1909,* a joint Commission for the consideration of the opium trade and opium habit in the Far East is to commence its sitting in Shanghai. This Commission has been called together at the suggestion of the United States, and representatives of the following countries will be present : the United States of America, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, China, and Japan, Russia, Turkey, Persia, and Siam.

The representatives of Great Britain are to be the Right Hon. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G. ; Sir Alexander Hosie, Acting Commercial Attaché to His Majesty's Legation at Peking ; Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G. ; Mr. J. Bennet Brunyate, of the Financial Department of the Indian Civil Service ; and Mr. R. Laidlaw, M.P. Among the many things to be considered, it is to be hoped that the following two points will not be overlooked—viz., that China should have a free hand to exclude the drug, and a free hand to take such steps as her Government may think best for the internal suppression of the use of opium.

The following words are from the White Paper No. 1 :

"Whether China can completely obtain the goal she desires without Government control of opium, both native

* The *Daily News* of November 23 states that this Commission has, in consequence of the mourning of the Chinese Court, been postponed till February 1.

grown and imported, is somewhat doubtful. At present she is debarred from doing so by Article V. of the British Treaty of Nanking of 1842, and Article XIV. of the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858."

On more than one occasion recently, when China has made a move towards monopoly, treaty rights have been claimed to hinder her in her efforts. It seems hardly in accordance with Great Britain's love of fair-play to make our action depend upon China's success, to acknowledge at the same time that success is doubtful without Government control, and yet to prevent her by treaty from obtaining that control.

It is true that from the Report of the Chinese Ministry of Finance—a translation of which appeared in the *Times* of November 14—China has decided against a monopoly. But why? This question deserves a careful answer, for it reveals how seriously China is hampered by treaty restrictions in her struggle with the evils of opium.

The Report referred to states three reasons why China has decided against Government control, and it will be at once obvious to the thoughtful reader that the first two reasons are directly in consequence of Britain's attitude, while the third is on the same grounds, though perhaps it may be less obvious. The reasons are as follows:

1. Because "the creation by China of bureaux for the monopoly of the sale of opium will assuredly dissatisfy foreign nations, and appear to them to be due to profit-seeking motives."

2. Because, "were a bureau under official control to be started, a definite amount of native opium would require to be fixed upon for purchase on the basis of that fixed upon in regard to foreign opium." The supply of foreign opium being fixed upon a basis of a ten years' gradual reduction is, in China's eyes, a distinct hindrance, since she believes that "a few more years will witness the complete eradication of the evil." So that, to quote the Report, China fears that the amount of opium fixed upon "would be

utterly useless long before the date assigned for its final suppression, and a possible result might be that the foreigner would compel us to purchase the whole ten years' supply of the drug."

3. Because an official bureau would necessitate an expensive system of inspection, with domiciliary visits, which might result in abuses and oppression, in the case especially of the poor, while the rich would be able in many cases to escape.

For these three reasons China decides against Government control, and determines upon two other main lines of action, the second of which she is compelled to adopt in certain provinces because, through treaty restrictions, she cannot, with any hope of success, depend upon the first. These methods are :

1. "In the North and West the suppression of the poppy cultivation is the most urgent step."

2. "In the South and East what is requisite is the suppression of opium-smoking."

Why does China thus differentiate between the inland and maritime provinces? Because, to use the words of the Report, "in Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechwan, Shensi Shansi, and Honan, the inhabitants smoke only native opium, so that the reduction of cultivation implies a similar reduction of opium-smokers," while "it is in the maritime provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien, Kiangsu, and Chekiang that foreign opium [which they have no power to exclude] finds the readiest sale, so that prohibition of poppy cultivation in China [*i.e.*, in these provinces] would enable the foreigner to find a greater market for the sale of imported opium." Consequently, in these coast provinces, a more laborious and less efficient method than that which is possible in the inland provinces has to be adopted.

Can these words be read by any true-hearted Englishman without a bitter sense of shame? China, in her struggle against what are, under the most favourable conditions, gigantic and almost overwhelming evils, has yet to shape

her internal policy to avoid what "will assuredly dissatisfy foreign nations"; to avoid what might "appear to them to be due to profit-seeking motives"; to avoid being compelled by the foreigner "to purchase the whole ten years' supply of the drug" should she stamp out the evil at an earlier date; to avoid the foreigner finding "a greater market for the sale of imported opium" should cultivation in the maritime provinces be prohibited. The whole Report reveals how China is handicapped through lack of liberty in her internal arrangements. There is probably no nation which has a more lively sense of justice than China. If "reason"—or "li," as the Chinese call it—can be proved by either party in a private or public dispute, the Chinese will always bow to "reason," and conversely they naturally resent that which is "unreasonable."

In face of an awakening East, which is becoming more and more conscious and sensitive of such injustices as one nation in Europe could not practise upon another, it is surely time that such disabilities should be removed. It is surely possible to pay too much for money; and if, as nations or as individuals, we "treat the great mountain peaks of Sinai and Calvary as negligible quantities, there can be no refuge from that national or individual judgment which will shortly overtake us."

縣正堂示

黑

籍

此戶吸煙
勸不戒故
此牌不違
自拆毀申
照例治罪
亭明

CHINA'S "BLACK LIST."

The above is a reduced facsimile of a notice posted on the doors of the homes in one city in Szechwan, West China, where the opium smokers had not reformed. The translation is as follows:

The four characters across the top are "The District Magistrate's Notice." The red official seal does not show in this reproduction.

The two large characters are "Black List."

The small characters at the bottom read: "This family, who smoke opium, though repeatedly exhorted (to be cured), have not done so, hence this notice is attached to their dwelling. They are not permitted to remove or deface this notice. If they do so they will be punished in accordance with the law for destroying a 'Shen-Ming pavilion.'"

The Rev. J. Vale, of Szechwan, who forwards the copy of the above notice, says: "I have not, however, seen this notice in any other city, and I believe the official has not ventured to attach such a notice to any family of standing."

WHAT WE MAY LEARN FROM ANCIENT CHINESE STATESMEN.

BY E. H. PARKER.

ONE of the striking features of early Chinese civilization is the practical and common-sense nature of the surviving historical documents. When we say "early civilization," of course we mean that specific stage which is illustrated by contemporary documents, and not that abstract semi-mythical period of tradition to which the earliest documents only allude loosely and retrospectively. It can scarcely be denied that the Egyptian Book of the Dead and the Babylonian or Assyrian self-glorifying royal inscriptions, however interesting to specialists absorbed in the exciting task of deciphering long-forgotten scripts, are somewhat tedious reading to the general public on account of their idealistic and often superhuman tone. On the other hand, such of the Chinese records as survive lay before us a condition of political and thoroughly human civilization almost exactly akin in point of ethics to that which at this moment prevails amongst ourselves in Europe. It is true that the recent discovery of baked-clay documents on a wholesale scale in Mesopotamia, and the labours of Maspero and others in the Egyptian field, have resulted in our knowing more about the popular life of the Mesopotamian and Nile civilizations than we are ever likely to know about Chinese popular life and domestic economy at similar dates. But I am speaking here rather of documents specially concerned with the administration of the State machine. There is a dry practical logic about the Chinese phraseology which contrasts very forcibly with the vainglorious and bombastic style of the Western Asia monarchs. There is also a healthy scepticism in religious affairs—or in what did duty for religion—which seems to show up well alongside of the abject superstitions of Egypt and Babylonia. However, Chinese alone is my speciality, and I therefore lay more

positive stress upon the Chinese possession of common sense than negative stress upon the absence of that quality in the West, upon which I can only judge by second-hand. Possibly the learned men who are now engaged in "rummaging" amongst the remains of Knossos, Thebes, Syria, and the Mediterranean islands, may yet discover coherent and consecutive political documents capable of putting the Chinese survivals into the shade; but meanwhile the latter seem most decidedly to have the advantage in point of human nature and lucidity.

In a recent book* I have already illustrated the leading features of early Chinese politics and its governing principles, and I have endeavoured to show that such abstract ideas as War, Law, Religion, Morality, etc., had no well-defined existence at all. The scheme of life was "government," whether by the *paterfamilias*, or by the King as *paterfamilias* on a large or universal scale. "Punishment" (which included War) was the germ of the later more specialized Law, and its function was to correct departures from orderly government as defined in the Rites. Keeping up spiritual communication with the souls of deceased parents or rulers in the same way did duty for the later Religion; and here, again, the idea was to obtain or to fortify spiritual sanction for the acts of government. Obedience to the maxims of ritual government covered Morality in the abstract, and this ritual government itself was supposed to be based on what we in Europe call the "Law of Nature," or the General Fitness of Things. The father did what was natural in bringing up his family; the family, *gens*, or tribe, each in their degree, did what was natural and "proper" in administering those respective units; the local ruler did the same thing for his State, which was viewed as a grant from the one King; who, in turn, was the Vicar of Heaven, or of the Emperor on High. Of course this scheme in a sense begs the question; for who is it that decides what is "proper"? The Chinese

* "Ancient Chinese Simplified." Chapman and Hall, 1908.

scheme is, however, simple, if not perfectly logical; and, indeed, as neither we nor the Chinese have the faintest scientific notion of the mysteries of life and death, no all-embracing scheme could possibly be very logical. The scheme was, notwithstanding, in the main principles, very much like that of the Code of Manu in India, which was, in fact, of about the same antiquity as the first genuine Chinese historical date (842 B.C.). The King in *de facto* possession of the supposed world represented Nature and the Deity (*i.e.*, the Emperor on High); and for that reason his words, whether defining, correcting, or reversing, were final definite sanctions, or Law. He delegated almost commensurate powers to grantees or minor rulers, and the administrative officers, both of himself and of those minor rulers, were in turn clothed with similar power. If things went wrong, the Rites or the Law of Nature had been infringed by someone, and it was for the Emperor or King or sub-ruler (advised by his astrologer or historiographer) to set things right. Comets and eclipses, amongst other eccentricities of Nature, gave warning betimes; the movements of animals, the occurrence of storms, floods, droughts, and other irregularities, all in their degree contributed their quota to the same animadverting service. The King was responsible if Heaven and the gods would not come to terms; the minor ruler was responsible in his lesser sphere. Hence the doctrine of dethronement by the People as "Heaven," or as supreme judges of appeal under Heaven, in cases where rulers were hopeless.

As China advanced in material civilization, population, and general knowledge, the above patriarchal or graduated system naturally grew weaker in its effect upon actively busy men. Confucius, who lived at the time (551-479) when the imperial or royal power was already in commission, aimed at suppressing vassal ambition, and at restoring the old ritual government of subordination. His history, beginning with the year 722 B.C., covers the period of about 250 years, during which the Decline took place: the

Fall was reserved for the 250 years after his death. But Confucius was by no means the only contemporary great man of China: he himself admits that he was only a transmitter of earlier opinions; and there had been at least two philosopher-statesmen of the very first rank contemporaries with, but at the same time a generation earlier than, himself, yet still sufficiently near to him in time to enable him to judge of their merits by personal intercourse in the flesh, instead of by reflected light through the dubious mirrors of tradition. One of these was Tsz-ch'an of Chêng. Chêng was a small principality ruled by princes of imperial provenance, of course under the suzerainty (now nominal) of their kinsman the Emperor, and situated in the very centre of China: it is still marked in modern maps as Chêng[-chou] in Ho Nan province. Tsz-ch'an's family name was Kung-sun, or "Duke's Grandson," and his personal name was K'iao: thus Kung-sun K'iao would be like our "John Fitzclarence" or "William Fitzgeorge." *Ch'an* was the secondary name by which his friends might call him, the Emperor alone (besides the parents) having a right to use the personal name direct to his face. *Tsz* is "an elegant appellation for males," and practically means no more than our calling Rubruik and De Groot by their "elegant" Latinized name-forms of Rubruquis and Grotius.

Now, Tsz-ch'an was considered quite as great a man as Confucius, and had he found time amid the cares of State to gather a school round him, and indulge in abstract thought, as the officially unemployed Confucius did, he might easily have become China's standard sage instead of the latter. In many respects, indeed, he seems to have been a nobler, more democratic, and manlier character than Confucius; moreover, there is no indiscretion or weakness recorded against him at all. During the short time (thirty years after Tsz-ch'an's death) when Confucius acted as Prime Minister, he certainly did wonders for the petty state of Lu; but he did no more than Tsz-ch'an had done for the state of Chêng, lying to the south-west of Lu. The people

wept for Tsz-ch'an, and his death deeply moved colleagues from all surrounding states. The only person who is recorded to have wept for Confucius was his own worthless duke, whose "divine right" Confucius wished to restore, and who said: "Heaven might have spared me this one old councillor instead of leaving me all unprotected by myself." The common people shed no tears for this conservative apostle. It is for this reason that I have put together in more or less consecutive form the various scattered items found in history which go to make up a life of Tsz-ch'an. No "life" or special biographical sketch is devoted to Tsz-ch'an by the great historian Sz-ma Ts'ien (B.C. 90), as he devoted them to Confucius and other contemporary statesmen, and to the Taoist philosophers. Probably the reason is that a special chapter is devoted by him to the principality of Chêng, and that the historian would thus consider it an impropriety to devote a second special chapter to a princely personage who, after all, was only serving his ruling relative of Chêng in the capacity of a subject minister. Be that as it may, the sayings and doings of Tsz-ch'an are nowhere collected, and it is for this reason that the most striking of them have been put together here. It will be seen that, in the sixth century before Christ, some at least of the Chinese vassal states, and particularly those belonging to the same class as the Emperor, had reached a very high degree of civilization in point of courtesy, logic, scepticism, democratic feeling, charity, honour, and so on. The presumption is that, if in B.C. 550 the Chinese had already attained to this point, there must have already been a steady growth many hundreds, if not thousands, of years anterior to this. In Europe there are still, after intervals of 1,000, 500, or even 200 years, many traces of surviving barbarism which differentiate the various nations all in their time and degree softened by Roman civilization, but now equally far advanced beyond ancient Rome in mere material knowledge. Until a generation ago China never seems to have advanced much beyond

the intellectual and material stage she had already attained 2,500 years ago, but, at any rate, she has not lost intellectual ground. Her intellect seems to have been only lying fallow, and she seems now quite able to pick up the lost chords again, and to qualify for the international concert.

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In 549 the Earl of Chêng was on a visit to Tsin (modern Shan Si, then at the head of a coalition of thirteen eastern states, all opposed to Ts'u, or modern Hu Pêh, and her forced allies of Ho Nan; and also opposed to Ts'in, or Shen Si, in the west). The Earl was accompanied by his minister, Tsz-si; and Tsz-ch'an, the renowned statesman of Chêng, sent a letter through Tsz-si to Fan Süan-tsz, the statesman who was then the practical ruler of Tsin, in order to complain of Tsin exactions, which made it difficult for the subordinate states, such as Chêng, to accept Tsin hegemony cheerfully. The letter ran as follows: "You, Sir, are conducting the state of Tsin with the vassal states around you as neighbours; but we hear as little of your good qualities as we hear much of your heavy demands, and I feel very uncomfortable about it. I have always understood that the man of integrity, in governing a state, does not fear so much the absence of pelf as the difficulty of securing a fair fame; but when the pelf of the vassals is hoarded up by the dominant ruling house, then the other vassals fall off in their allegiance; and if you, Sir, act in this way, then the state of Tsin will find itself declining. If the other vassals fall off, then the state of Tsin will be ruined; if Tsin declines, then your own family house will be ruined. Why, then, sink into such a slough? And what can be the good of pelf? On the other hand, a fair fame is the vehicle of worthy prestige, and prestige is the foundation of state government. Would it not be better to aim at foundations rather than ruination? When there is prestige of worth, there also is satisfaction; and when there is satisfaction, there also is permanency. As the Odes say: 'We rejoice in our princely personage, the foundation of

our state,' meaning that such fair prestige as I mention was present in that particular instance. Or again: 'The Emperor on High looks down upon you; let not your heart be unfaithful!' meaning that such fair fame was actually present also in that case. Keep bright virtue ever loyally in mind, and then your fair fame will be carried away and circulated, in such wise that the distant by coming and the near by settling will equally avail themselves of it. Is it not better that men should be made to say of you, 'He is in truth our cherisher,' than that they should say, 'He takes from us in order to cherish himself'? The elephant's tusks—his valuables or self—bring about his downfall."

Süan-tsz was pleased with these remarks, and as a result made his exactions lighter. Whilst on this mission, the Earl of Chêng had audience at the Tsin court, first in order to satisfy the heavy demands above alluded to, and, secondly, to ask co-operation against the state of Ch'ên to his south-east (still called Ch'ên-chou in Ho Nan). The Earl of Chêng was about to *kotow* to the Marquess of Tsin, but Süan-tsz declined to accept it. Tsz-si, as the minister in attendance on the Earl, protested: "As the state of Ch'ên takes advantage of the power of that great country [*i.e.*, Ts'u, the rival of Tsin for hegemony], and harries our humble village [still the diplomatic term for 'our country'], my unworthy prince begs to have this grievance redressed, and feels, therefore, that he ought to *kotow*."

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A year later Tsz-ch'an was present at the capture of Ch'ên, but he allowed no plundering, and let the ruling family off very easily, contenting himself with marching up to the palace gate in order formally to assert the rights of a conqueror. Meanwhile a new premier was in charge of Tsin, and greater consideration was henceforth shown by Tsin to the minor states, whose tribute or subsidies were reduced. Tsz-ch'an proceeded in military attire to report his victory to Tsin, and exhibited such diplomacy in parrying the objections of Tsin that Confucius said of him

(retrospectively of course): "The old books say that words give effect to mind, whilst choice of language gives full effect to words. Without words who can know the mind? and if the words are not well chosen, they will not carry very far. Tsin being hegemon, and Chêng having entered the Ch'ên capital, the achievement would not have been a complete success without these well-chosen words. One should always be careful to choose one's language!" The same year a certain Tsin statesman died, and Tsz-ch'an made some inquiries into how he had governed. He was told that "he regarded the people as his children, and whenever he saw inhuman persons he was down upon them just like a hawk is down upon sparrows." Tsz-ch'an was pleased to hear this; and said: "Before, I only knew his face, but now I discern his heart." Then he went on to define "government"; he said: "Government is like agriculture; it needs attention day and night, and success at the end is the corollary of attention at the beginning. Work must go on both earlier and later than inclination prompts, and such work must not go beyond what has been determined as necessary, just as the cultivator rarely goes beyond his dividing banks."

In 547 the Earl of Chêng distributed rewards to the two officers chiefly concerned in the success against Ch'ên. The first had a first-class chariot and triple honours, besides eight large villages (thirty-six able-bodied men in each). Tsz-ch'an, who came second, received a second-class chariot, double manorial honours, and six villages. Tsz-ch'an, however, declined the villages, saying: "From the highest downwards, the gradations are by statute in pairs, and I am only fourth in precedence, counting my colleague as first; consequently, I must decline the villages offered." The Earl persisted, on which Tsz-ch'an accepted three villages (*i.e.*, one more than the right legal number).

On another occasion Ts'u, in the war against Wu (region of modern Soochow), had presented to its ally Ts'in a Chêng captive whom Chêng wished to ransom. It was

proposed to send a relative of the prisoner with the necessary amount. But Tsz-ch'an said: "No! to accept the result of Ts'u valour, and then dispose of it to Chêng for pelf, is not what a self-respecting state would do; nor will Ts'in do it. The best thing is to thank the Ts'in ruler for his zeal on our behalf, and say that but for his kindness the Ts'u troops would still be here." His advice was not taken, and Ts'in would not give the man up. Another messenger was now sent with presents and instructions to speak as Tsz-ch'an had recommended. He was successful.

In the same year (547) Ts'u threatened to attack Chêng, and preparations were made for defence. But Tsz-ch'an said: "Ts'u and Tsin are about to come to terms, and the vassals are likely to agree on a peace; consequently this is only a rash move on the part of the King of Ts'u. Better let him have his fling and go back; peace will then be all the easier. Inferior minds are eager to show off bravery, and are avid of fishing in troubled waters."

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In 543 Tsz-ch'an accompanied his master to Tsin as minister in attendance, and Shuh Hiang, the rising statesman of Tsin, asked him for news about the Chêng administration. The reply was: "I do not know if I shall live to see it out, but the crisis takes place this year. The two families of Sz and Liang [Liang-siao, *alias* Pêh Yu, was executed later on] are contesting power, and I do not know what arrangement will result. If things are arranged, and I live to see it, then I shall be able to tell you." Shuh Hiang asked: "I thought they had already come to terms?" The reply was: "Pêh Yu is extravagant and cantankerous. Tsz-sih [*alias* Black Arm, who had been at the Peace Conference of 546] likes to be master, and is unable to take any subordinate place. Even if they do come to terms, there will still remain ill-feeling between them, and before long this ill-feeling is sure to break out." The same year Tsz-ch'an went to Ch'ên to ratify a treaty, and, returning to report the result of his mission, mentioned

to his colleagues that Ch'ên was as good as lost, and not worth cultivating as a friend. There grain was being hoarded and towns fortified to the total neglect of that more effective security—the people's welfare. The prince was a poor creature, and his sons and nephews were extravagant. The heir-apparent was mean, and the ministers were haughty. Government was exercised by too many persons. Situated as the country was between the great powers, it was bound to perish before ten years more were out [it fell to Ts'u in 534].

The Pêh Yu mentioned above was a drunkard, and had made himself an underground apartment, in which he used to drink all night long and indulge in music. When the courtiers came in the morning one day, he was still drinking. One of them asked: "Where is his lordship?" The household retainers said: "His lordship is in the ditch." So they all broke up and went away from the audience-room. And when he himself went to have audience of the prince, he wanted to send [his rival] Tsz-sih on a mission to Ts'u, after which he went back and resumed his cups.

An interesting story is related of the Tsin statesman Chao Mêng in 543. A generous person was administering parochial relief in grain to a number of old people engaged in building. Chao Mêng suspected the genuineness of an old man's claim to be very old, and inquired his age. The man said: "I am only a common man, and do not know how to calculate years. But I know that I was born on the first day of the 60-year perpetual cycle, which was also the first day of the new moon, in the first month of the year [Tsin used the calendar of the Hia Dynasty, which was two months earlier than the calendar of the Chou Dynasty, under which the event took place]. I also know that I have passed 445 of the first days of the 60-day cycle, and that I have now lived through one-third [20 days] of the 445th cycle." No one present could work out this calculation, so the services of the court musician-astronomer were called in. He soon traced back the 26,660 days

[the Chinese moons of twenty-nine and thirty days, plus intercalary moons eight times in twenty-one years, make exactly 365 days a year]; and found that the old man was born in 616 B.C., and was, therefore, seventy-three years old. On this Chao Mêng at once sent for him, and asked him his *hien* [domicile city] and minister [*i.e.*, lord of the manor]. It was found that he was a villein of Chao Mêng's own appanage. On this a very touching event took place, which points to a lurking, if not general, high standard of honour in those days. Chao Mêng apologized to the old man in person, and said [using his own private name as though speaking to a superior]: "I am, with my imperfect abilities, always busy with hasty matters of the Duke's affairs, and, in view of the many cares attached to Tsin politics, I have failed so far to utilize your talents, Sir, thus causing you to spend long years doing the work of hodman and plasterer. It is my fault entirely, and I venture to ask you to excuse my lack of tact." He thereupon appointed the man his assistant. But the old man declined, on the score of age. Chao Mêng then gave him land to live on, and a post in charge of the Duke's wardrobe. He also made him census examiner at the capital of Tsin. News of this made a great impression in Lu [Confucius' state], and, of course, in Tsz-ch'an's state of Chêng, which, like Lu and Tsin, was of the Emperor's own clan.

Tsz-ch'an became Premier of Chêng in 543, shortly after his cousin, the drunkard above-mentioned, had been executed. He began a series of reforms at once: chariots and clothes were regulated according to rank, both in the capital and in the local places; sumptuary rules were made also according to rank; fields were separated by banks and ditches. Cottage groups of nine men were formed into family groups of five mutual bailors. The loyal and thrifty among the higher classes were rewarded with notice accordingly. The showy and extravagant were reduced to insignificance in proportion. A certain high personage, having applied for permission to hunt in order to obtain

animals for family sacrifice, was denied that privilege on the ground that only the ruling prince had the right to big game, everyone else using [horses, cattle, dogs, or pigs as] a mere sufficiency. The high personage in question withdrew in a rage, and prepared to use military force; in consequence of which Tsz-ch'an set out for Tsin. But Tsz-p'i [a cousin who had taken over temporary charge, and voluntarily surrendered it, after the drunkard's death] stopped him, and drove out the offender to Tsin. Tsz-ch'an applied [to the ruler] for the offender's landed possessions, which were given back to him when, after three years, the man was suffered to return, and the income was applied to government uses for one year only. The people sang about Tsz-ch'an for this, saying: "He takes our clothes and hats by storing them for us; he takes our fields and groups them for us. Who would kill Tsz-ch'an? We will be on his side." Three years later they sang again: "We have young fellows: Tsz-ch'an admonishes them. We have arable fields: Tsz-ch'an makes them productive. When Tsz-ch'an dies, who will take his place?"

In 542 Tsz-ch'an went as minister in attendance with the Earl to Tsin. It happened that the Marquess of Lu had just died, so the Marquess of Tsin [same imperial clan] declined to receive the Earl. On this Tsz-ch'an ordered the walls of the hotel to be pulled down, and put the chariots and horses there. A Tsin officer objected to this, and said: "Owing to the imperfection of our humble administration, robbers are numerous here, and we know not what to do with the suites of vassal princes who pay us the honour of a visit; for which reason we had directed the proper authorities to put the ambassadorial quarters in good order, to raise the entrance gates higher, and to strengthen the walls, so as to take away all sense of uneasiness from the ambassadorial guests. But now, my dear sir, you have pulled the place down. Although your own suite may be sufficiently on its guard, how about other foreign guests? As our poor village [*i.e.*, the country of Tsin] is the hegemonical

one, we build up and thatch the walls for the use of ambassadorial missions. If you pull them all down, how can we carry out our commands with proper respect? My poor prince sends me to invite your explanatory directions." The reply was: "As our own poor village [*i.e.*, the country of Chêng] is so insignificant in size, wedged in as it is by great states, we are perpetually being called to account, and for that reason dare not presume to live in peace; but we rake together all our available humble taxes, in order to pay our periodical visits at your court. Having hit upon a time when the functionaries are not at leisure, and having thus failed to obtain audience; having failed, moreover, to receive your instructions, we do not know when we shall obtain audience, and therefore we cannot venture to offer our presents, nor can we venture to expose them to the elements. Did we offer them, then your master's treasury seems to be already full up; and unless we lay the things out before him in audience, we dare not presume to offer them at all. If, on the other hand, we expose them to the elements, it is to be feared that untimely heat or damp may bring on rot or corruption, which would thus make the crimes of our poor village the greater. I have always heard that when Duke Wên [of Tsin] was Protector, his palace was of unpretending appearance, without any outlooks, raised constructions, or galleries; whilst, on the other hand, he made as fine as possible the hotel of the vassal princes [visiting him], which, indeed, resembled a ducal temple, properly provided with storehouses and stables. The ædiles from time to time saw that the roads were kept in good order, whilst the plasterers likewise from time to time whitewashed the various apartments of the hotel. When guests from any of the vassal princes arrived, the court-yards were lit up, and servants went round to keep watch; places were provided for the carts and horses, and the suite had people found to assist them in their duties; the master of the mews was there to grease the axle-heads; the police saw the animals put out to grass, each one looking to his

own duty. The whole official body put their services at the visitors' disposal. The Duke did not detain his guests too long, and there was thus no missing fire or failure in business. [Tsin] joined in [the guests'] sorrows and pleasures, and saw that everything was in order, teaching them what they did not know, and making allowance for all their deficiencies. Guests came to the place as to a home: was it likely there would be disasters to fear? They feared not robbers, nor did they dread heat or damp. At present there is a vacant palace only a few miles away, and yet the vassal princes are quartered here in a sort of barracks: the gate is not big enough to admit a cart, and we are hemmed in on all sides by walls. Robbers openly prowl all over the place, and there is also danger from the elements. There is no prospect of audience, and we have no means of ascertaining what is required of us. If in addition we may not pull the walls down, we shall have no place to store our valuables, thus adding to our guilt. We beg to inquire what are your commands. Though Tsin may be in official mourning for Lu, our poor village [Chêng also belonging to the imperial clan] is equally distressed about it. If you will allow us to present our offerings, repair the walls, and go, it will be a kindness on the part of your prince, and we will strive to serve him to our utmost."

The objecting officer laid this complaint before the prince: Chao Wên-tsz [*i.e.*, Chao Mêng] said: "He is right. We have indeed not been kind in quartering a vassal prince in a police barrack, and it is my fault, too." So he sent the same officer back to apologize for his want of tact, and the Marquess of Tsin at the audience treated the Earl of Chêng with particular politeness; the banquet was extra liberal, and he dismissed him with a great show of friendliness. After that he built a proper hotel for the reception of vassal princes. Shuh Hiang [of Tsin] said: "His language was unanswerable, and in this matter all the other vassals benefited by Tsz-ch'an's able harangue. How can we dispense with eloquence? As the Odes say: 'A friendly

eloquence unites men's views ; a flow of oratory settles men's minds ; and the poet knew it."

The same year a Wu officer [son of the Ts'u renegade to Tsin in 584, who had gone on a mission from Tsin to Wu, and thus opened up relations with the hitherto unknown Wu] came on a complimentary mission to Tsin. Chao Wên-tsz inquired of him, saying : "Has Ki-tsz of Yen-chou-lai [his appanage] really succeeded to the throne [his brother died in 544]? One brother having perished at the battle [of 548], and the other having been assassinated by his eunuch doorkeeper, all this looks as though Heaven had opened the way for him. How is it?" The answer was : "He has not succeeded ; the two Kings suffered the fate Heaven had provided for them ; it was not an opening of the way for Ki-tsz. Heaven's opening was made in favour of his present highness [still another brother], who is very capable and magnanimous. In his goodness he keeps a hold on the people, and in his high capacity he keeps a firm hold on affairs. The people love him, and affairs run smoothly, so that it is he whom Heaven has chosen, and it will be the descendants of this prince who will continue to wield power in Wu country. Ki-tsz is a man who has elected to efface himself, and even if [his three elder brothers in succession] had insisted on giving him the succession in turn, he would not have reigned."

The same year, again, some Chêng gentlemen were taking a turn in the country, and on their way visited a local college, where politics were being discussed. One of the party said tentatively to Tsz-ch'an : "How would it do to destroy this [mischievous] college?" Tsz-ch'an asked : "Why? These people and others like them take a retired stroll here morning and evening, in order to discuss whether the administration is being conducted well or no. What they find good I proceed to carry out ; what they call bad I proceed to change : thus they are my instructors ; why should I destroy the place? I have always understood that by honesty and goodness you may reduce discontent ;

I have never learnt that by an exhibition of terrorism you can prevent discontent. Surely it is better not to stop it up? It is just like a dammed-up stream: if it bursts a big breach in the exposed part, the loss of life is heavy, and we cannot soften the blow. How much better to open a small relieving breach ourselves? Our best course is to accept their criticisms as medicine." His interlocutor said: "From this time forward I shall know, my dear sir, how serviceable your good faith is. Men of mean capacity are indeed incompetent to see the truth of this policy, which, if really carried out, will be for the genuine benefit of the whole of Chêng state, not to speak of its handful of ministers." Confucius, hearing of this conversation [which must have been retrospectively, for he was only ten years of age now], said: "Judging from this, when anyone says Tsz-ch'an was not a benevolent man, I decline to believe it."

[Immediately before this, his resigning] colleague had nominated a friend for a local governorship. Tsz-ch'an said: "He is young, and I doubt if he will suit." The colleague replied: "He is a conscientious man, and I like him; he will not go against me: let him go and learn; he will then get to know more about government." Tsz-ch'an said: "That won't do at all. People take kindly to others who are likely to be of service to them. In the present case, my friend, you give this man a post in the administration simply because you like him, which is like ordering to cut something a man who has not learnt how to hold the knife; so far from succeeding, he cuts himself badly: thus your love for this man simply means that you damage him. Who, then, will venture to seek your love again? You are one of the pillars of Chêng state. If the pillar snaps, the joists collapse, and I shall be crushed [with the whole house] too, so that I feel bound to speak out. Suppose you had a fine piece of embroidered stuff, would you not have men learn how to cut it? A high office in a large town means a covering for the person; and would you not have a man learn how to cut that too? Is not it of much

greater value than a mere piece of fine stuff? I have always understood that you learn first, and then join the administration; I have never understood that you use the administration as a means of learning. If this were really done, injury would certainly result. As, for instance, in the chase, when the chariot-archer is a practised shot, he succeeds in securing the bird: if he has never mounted a chariot to shoot while he drives, then he runs the risk of coming to grief and being crushed or overturned, so far from having any chance of getting anything." The colleague said: "Good! I lack intellect. I have been told that the superior man aims at understanding the great and the remote, whilst the mean man aims at understanding the petty and the near at hand. I am that mean man: I have clothes on my back of which I know how to take care; but the high office in the large town which provides my person with shelter I ignore and treat lightly. Had it not been for what you say, I should never have thought of all this. At other times I might have said that you know how to safeguard your Chêng country shelter, whilst I know how to safeguard my family shelter; but, after this, I shall feel that I do not know even that much properly, and from this day I beg that I may subordinate even my own family interests to your judgment." Tsz-ch'an replied: "Men's minds are as various as their faces: I would not, of course, venture to assert that your face is as my face; yet, as this affair seemed to my mind dangerous, I felt bound to tell you what I thought." The colleague was so impressed with this honesty of purpose that he handed over the administration to Tsz-ch'an, and thus it was that the latter became Premier of Chêng state.

In 541 a mission headed by a royal Ts'u prince came to Chêng to arrange a marriage, but the escort was so suspiciously strong that it was quartered outside the walls. Tsz-ch'an sent the visitors the following message: "Our poor village is so insignificantly small that it is unequal to the reception of your suite. I would beg you to raise the

altar [where you are] when we shall await your commands." The [royal prince] commander-in-chief ordered the minister Pêh-chou-li [a Tsin renegade] to reply as follows: "As your prince has deigned to send presents to our unworthy high officer Wei [the royal prince's personal name], and has stated that the said Wei was to arrange a marriage with one of your kinsmen, the said Wei first set out a feast at the shrine of his royal grandfather and father, and then came hither. If the altar ceremony here is to be carried out in the open, it would seem like throwing your prince's royal gifts into the wilderness, and would prevent our unworthy high officer from carrying out the highest ministerial forms. Not only so, but you would force the said Wei to deceive his royal ancestors [by not entering the shrine of the bride's ancestors], in such wise that he might lose his post as minister of our royal master, and could scarcely venture to return: your excellencies will please consider this." Tsz-ch'an's emissary said: "Our little state is guilty of no offence except the offence of having to rely on greater states. We had relied upon this connection with your powerful state to bring us peace, but now [by trying to get your armed escort in] you seem to harbour malignant intentions against our independence. If our little state loses your support, and thus brings on the resentment of the other vassal princes, every one of them will be indignant; and it is the fear of this that causes us to disobey your prince's commands, and to adopt a halting attitude. Otherwise do you suppose that the persons in charge of our poor village buildings would be chary of exposing the shrine of the bride's ancestors?" The Ts'u leaders thus perceived that ample precautions had already been taken, and therefore offered to enter the city with subverted quivers [*i.e.*, empty of arrows]. This was agreed to, and at the beginning of the new year they entered to receive the bride.

This year two rival princely applicants sent marriage proposals to the pretty daughter of a Chêng officer, who

in his embarrassment applied for advice to Tsz-ch'an. Tsz-ch'an said: "This is no fault of yours; it is the fault of the bad marriage laws of Chêng; accept the offers of both, and then let the girl choose for herself." This was agreed to. One of the princes came in full dress, laid out his marriage gifts, and retired. The other came in soldier's attire, let fly two arrows, vaulted out of his chariot, and withdrew. The girl was looking on from her apartment, and said: "The first is certainly a pretty fellow, but the second is a man. A man should be a man, and a woman a woman, if things are to be right." And she chose the second. The result was a fight between the two princely cousins, and Tsz-ch'an had in the end to patch up the quarrel by banishing the successful suitor for the nominal offence of defending his wife with excessive violence.

Tsz-ch'an went on a marriage mission to Tsin in 541, and had a consultation with Shuh Hiang about the sickness of the Tsin prince, who was supposed to be under the evil influences of the gods. Tsz-ch'an said: "The gods of the mountains, streams, and constellations have nothing to do with it; it is all a question of excessive indulgence. I have always understood that a prince should divide his hours into four parts: early morning for audiences; day-time for inquiries; evening for preparing orders in council; night for repose. In this way the strength is husbanded. The vital forces should not be allowed to stagnate and clog, to the weakening of the body, the clouding of the mind, and the creation of chronic lassitude. But if you turn these four parts of the day into one, you are bound to get sick. I have also understood it to be laid down that your harem inmates should not be of the same family-name as yourself, otherwise the offspring soon falls off in quality, their fine qualities decay prematurely, and the two spouses grow sickly too, for which reason the superior mind loathes it. Hence the Rites say: 'In buying a concubine, if you do not know her family-name, consult the oracle.' The

ancients were most particular on these two points [of dividing time, and of marriage]; and that men and women should be of different family-names is the leading principle of the Rites. At the present moment four of the prince's women [incestuously] belong to the [imperial clan of] *Ki*, which fact has probably something to do with his sickness. If he continues outraging these two principles, his malady is hopeless. If he sees less of the four *Ki* women, things may improve; if not, he is bound to grow worse." Shuh Hiang said: "Good! I never knew this before. It is all as you say." Tsz-ch'an's remarks were duly reported to the Marquess of Tsin, who said: "He is an encyclopædia"; and richly rewarded him. He then sent for medical advice to Ts'in, and the Earl of Ts'in sent him a physician. The physician said: "It is hopeless; it is neither a question of the gods nor of eating and drinking; he has knocked himself silly [with women]. When his faithful ministers are dying off [and cease to advise him], Heaven can do nothing for him." The prince asked: "Can't I approach women at all?" The reply was: "In moderation. The ancient kings took all their pleasures in moderate apportionments [here follow parallels from music and natural history]; but as your Highness disregards both moderation and time, you are bound to go on suffering as you now do." Then the physician went out and told this to Chao Mêng, who asked: "Who is the faithful minister?" The reply was: "You; you have now been premier for eight years, and Tsin state has been quite orderly, whilst the vassal princes have not failed you. That may be called 'faithful.' I have always understood that a great minister's glory lies in his prince's favour; his ambition in his duty. If anything ruinous threatens, and he fails to remedy it, he is certain to suffer for it. Your royal master has now brought on sickness by excess, and if you can do nothing to save the dynasty, no disaster can be greater. As you have, so far, done nothing to stave off the trouble from your prince, I say 'dying off.'" [Here follows a meta-

physical parallel.] Chao Mêng said: "An excellent physician!" and dismissed him with a large fee.

Meanwhile Ts'u was fortifying three towns which had once belonged exclusively to Chêng, much to Chêng's alarm. Tsz-ch'an said: "No danger! The [prince] commander-in-chief contemplates a *coup d'état*, and wants to get rid of his colleagues first [by employing them apart]. Chêng will not suffer! No fear!" Later on the prince was coming on a marriage mission to Chêng; but, hearing that his king [his nephew] was sick, he hurried back, strangled him with his hat-string whilst ostensibly asking after his health, and then murdered his two young relatives, the king's sons. Shortly after that Chao Mêng died too. In 539 Tsz-ch'an accompanied his sovereign to Ts'u as minister in attendance, and in 538, when the King of Ts'u sought his counsel, he encouraged the notion that Ts'u might act independently of Tsin in taking the lead of the vassals. On his return home he introduced new taxation laws, providing for a charge upon each field over and above the ancient levies. This made him unpopular, and he was compared to a stinging scorpion. On this being told him, he said: "What harm is done? Even life and death are of no consequence when the weal of the State is concerned. I have always understood that beneficent rulers will not change their ordinances. I cannot let the people have their own way, nor can I change the [new] law. As the Ode runs: 'So long as I act with propriety and justice, what care I what people say?' I will not budge." [In this case Tsz-ch'an's reasoning is not very conclusive, nor did his colleagues think it was so.] In the year 536 the State of Chêng had the "punishment book" [the laws] cast upon tripods as a permanent guide for its population. [The interesting letter of remonstrance sent by Shuh Hiang of Tsin to Tsz-ch'an has already been published *in extenso* in the appendix to "Ancient China Simplified," pp. 311, 312.] Another Tsin dignitary professed to see in the sudden appearance at night of the planet Mars signs

ominous of what would happen to Chêng in consequence of this "gratuitous kindling of popular conflagration at the wrong time." Just then Lu sent a mission to Tsin to express thanks for having escaped punishment for a political indiscretion in connection with another vassal. The Marquess of Tsin received the Lu envoy very well, and gave him one extra dish beyond those required by the Rites at the banquet. The envoy at once retired, and sent a secretary to say: "When a minor state does homage to a greater, it is only too glad to escape chastisement, so far from seeking favours. The Rites only stipulate three dishes for a minister of my rank, but now there is an extra platter, an honour I really cannot endure, except that I feel I should offend." The then Tsin premier, Han Sün-tsz, said: "My unworthy prince takes a pleasure in acting thus." The reply was: "Yet my unworthy prince would still protest; how much the more then I, who am his menial? Having been so bold as to hear that extra favour was being shown, it was my duty to insist on its being withdrawn before I could complete the object of my mission." The Tsin government admitted that the envoy understood what etiquette was, and gave him extra costly presents for himself.

The next year Tsz-ch'an was sent on mission to Tsin. The Marquess of Tsin was sick, but Han Sün-tsz welcomed the Chêng guest, with whom he subsequently had a quiet chat. He said: "My unworthy prince has been confined to his room with sickness for three months now, and prayers have, moreover, been offered to all the prominent [hills and streams guarding the land]; yet the malady has increased rather than diminished. He has just dreamt that a yellow bear has entered the sick chamber: what sort of an orbate ghost is this?" The answer was: "Considering how intelligent the prince is, and that you are conducting the affairs of state, how can there be an orbate ghost? When [in B.C. 2300] the Emperor banished his minister [father of the founder of

the Hia Dynasty, exiled to a place in Shan Tung province], his spirit changed into a yellow bear [or, as one account says, a turtle], which entered the pool there, and ever since that time the three successive dynasties have sacrificed to it. As Tsin is now League Representative [of the decayed Emperors], perhaps it is that Tsin has failed to continue this worship." Han-tsz accordingly proceeded to sacrifice in the way suggested, and the Marquess of Tsin improved. He presented Tsz-ch'an with two square tripods, paid in as tribute by another vassal. On his part Tsz-ch'an returned to Han Suan-tsz some land, granted by Tsin four years ago to a Chêng prince, now deceased, for eminent service rendered, and which deceased's son durst not keep. Han Suan-tsz declined, however, to receive the private gift. Tsz-ch'an said: "The ancients had a saying to the effect that though the father has been a wood-cutter, his son may not even be a competent fuel-carrier. I expect the son feels unequal to his father's office, and *a fortiori* to the gift of land made by a powerful state. As you are in charge of this state, and quite competent, future generations might blame our poor village generally on account of this frontier land possession, and the son might specifically come to utter grief. Do you take the land, and thus relieve our poor village from blame, besides setting him upon a safe family basis: do this, I beg of you." Suan-tsz did so, and told the Marquess of Tsin, who consented to Suan-tsz's having it.

It is interesting to notice that the year before this is called "the year of the cast laws" retrospectively, just as the Romans used to say "the year of the XII. Tables" (B.C. 450). What these laws were has been explained at length in "Ancient China Simplified."

Some time before this there had been great alarm in Chêng because the ghost of a princely personage had been seen with his cuirass on, and because two other princely personages denounced by the ghost had since died. Tsz-ch'an quieted the people by appointing deceaseds'

sons to their respective fathers' honours, in order that the ancestral shrine of a full minister might belong to them. On being asked for an explanation, he said: "When a ghost has a proper *gîte*, he does not do mischief to folk; hence I cause them to possess these ancestral shrines." He went on to explain that, though this action was irregular, it was better to humour the ignorant people than to stickle for strict legality. And now one of the Tsin statesmen, referring to the said ghost's alleged appearance, asked: "Can he really have reappeared in the shape of a ghost?" Tsz-ch'an said: "Yes; when a man is being born, he first of all assumes spiritual shape; the spiritual shape having been born [quiescent], the living force is called 'soul.' When activity takes place, and essence is generated, the spirit and the soul develop; hence come the vitalities, and so on we come to consciousness and intelligence. When common individuals of either sex die violent deaths, their spirit and their soul can still attach themselves to others in the shape of maleficent spooks. How much more, therefore, with the princely scions in question! Though Chêng may be a poor place—what the proverb calls 'an insignificant state'—yet the ancestors of these princely personages have in the past wielded power and expended vital force, notably so for three generations past; moreover, their clan is a big one, and influential. Is it, therefore, not meet that the ghost of one of that clan who was executed should reappear?"

It is interesting to note that in 530, when the Earl of Chêng was being buried, Tsz-ch'an tactfully managed to prevent his tomb being improved at the expense of other private tombs which stood in the way. As was said by competent critics at the time: "In this Tsz-ch'an showed that he understood the proprieties." In 529, when Tsin was exercising pressure on the minor states, Tsz-ch'an's persistency in diplomacy succeeded in obtaining better terms; whilst, on the other hand, Shuh Hiang's arguments frightened Lu into submission. His clinching

argument was: "No matter how lean a cow may be, if it falls on a porker, it is safe to crush the porker anyhow." Confucius, whose criticisms now begin to be repeated by his pupil, observed: "In this mission Tsz-ch'an fully deserves the qualification of pillar of the State. As the Ode says: 'Happy we in our Prince, the Pillar of our State.' Tsz-ch'an was the princely man striving for the success of his government; he managed to unite the vassal princes at the durbar headed by Tsin, and he succeeded in moderating the subsidies due from his own state."

In the year 526 Han K'i [*i.e.*, Han Sün-tsz] went on a mission to Chêng, and the Earl entertained him at a banquet. Tsz-ch'an gave timely warning to the Chêng officials that, in arranging any court audiences, they must be scrupulously careful to see that proper respect was observed. One of the Chêng officers, however, came late, and took his place amongst the guests. The chamberlain at once interfered. Then he went behind the guests, but was again moved on. Finally he took his place amongst the musicians, much to the amusement of the guests. When the function was over, one of the high Chêng officials remonstrated with Tsz-ch'an, saying that "more care should have been taken in connection with visitors from a great power, who might ridicule our arrangements and thus make us look small: even when we exhibit perfect propriety, these people are apt to hold us cheap; how, then, can the country arrive at distinction when it fails to exhibit propriety? This officer's failure to find his right place is a humiliation for yourself." Tsz-ch'an was exceedingly indignant at this remonstrance, and said: "If my orders had been improper; if my commands had not been consistent; if my penalties had been unfair; if justice had been badly administered; if I had shown want of propriety in arranging audiences, in such wise that orders were disobeyed, and we were made to look small in the eyes of a great state; if I had overwrought the people to no purpose, and failed to discover my own shortcomings, then indeed it would have been a

humiliation for me. But the officer in question is second cousin to our ruling prince, and lineal descendant of a court chamberlain ; he is a hereditary minister [whose place is east, facing south] ; he has served as special envoy, and has been the rounds of the vassal states ; he is honoured in our own state, and is known to the other vassals ; he has a place at court, and also the right [as minister] to an ancestral shrine in his own house. He holds a fee from the state, and is taxed [100 war-chariots] for the army. He has duties to perform at the princely funerals, and exchanges sacrificial meats with the reigning duke himself. His post at the sacrificial shrine is of long standing, and has been so for several generations, his first being hereditary. If, then, he fails to take up his proper post on the present occasion, in what way am I humiliated or shamed ? If perverse men can any of them rise to the post of court chamberlain, it is because the criminal laws of former Emperors have been defective. You had better blame me for something else !”

Han Süan-tsz possessed a jade ring, the pair to which was in the hands of a Chêng trader, so that Süan-tsz sought the intervention of the reigning Earl of Chêng. But Tsz-ch'an would not hear of it, saying : “ It is not Government property ; my unworthy prince knows nothing of it.” Two other Chêng officers pleaded with Tsz-ch'an : “ After all, Han-tsz does not ask for much : don't give him a rebuff ! If he gets some mischief-makers to raise a squabble about it, he will move the gods and demons to work off his malignant spite, when it will be too late for us to regret it. Why, then, grudge him a ring, and thus incur the hatred of a great power ? Why not find it for him, and give it ?” Tsz-ch'an said : “ I am not rebuffing Tsin and showing want of loyalty ; but I intend, on the contrary, to keep up loyal service to Tsin, and that is why I will not give the ring, my object being to be true to both Tsin and him. I have always understood that the superior man never finds so much difficulty in getting wealth as he does in maintain-

ing a good reputation when once he is in power. In the same way, I understand that in political affairs it is not so difficult to serve great powers and cherish small ones as to find your proper place without loss of propriety. If the demands of the subjects of great powers, made upon minor powers, are always to be instantly satisfied, when will they ever have enough? Obedience in one case, and the reverse in a second, only aggravates the risk in the second case. If we fulfil all the improper demands of a great power, when will they ever be satisfied? We might as well be their province, thus losing our independent state position. In this case Han K'î has come on an official mission at his prince's command, and it is outrageously rapacious of him to demand this gem. Is not that wrong enough? By delivering up the gem we make him do a second wrong. Besides that, we lose our status, and Han-tsz's rapacity succeeds in its aim. *Cui bono?* Moreover, by incurring great alleged risk all through a jewel is surely a petty basis for the supposed trouble?" The result was that Han-tsz purchased it from the merchant, and, a bargain having been struck, the trader said: "I must tell the Prince and his minister." Han-tsz then applied to Tsz-ch'an, saying: "I recently asked for a ring, but the Government could not see its way, so I durst not ask again. Now I have arranged to buy it from the trader, but he says I must tell you, and I therefore now venture to trouble you." Tsz-ch'an replied: "In past days the founder of our State [B.C. 806, younger son of an Emperor], as well as a number of merchants, migrated hither from the imperial domain, and we all started to clear and cultivate this region: we cut away the jungle and brushwood, and inhabited it in common. We had a hereditary vow to secure each other's confidence; it ran: 'You will not revolt from us, and we will not purchase at forced prices; nor will we beg or take by force; if you have rich markets and precious objects, we will not take cognizance thereof. As witness this mutual vow.' Hence we have been able to get along well together,

even up to to-day. Now, sir, you condescend to pay us a friendly visit, and you wished us to take a ring by violence from a merchant; this was trying to induce our poor village to break the above vow, which surely would not do! You, sir, by securing the desired gem, would lose the vassal princes' respect. I am sure you would not do that. If a great power commands, and supplies are furnished without reasonable limit, Chêng becomes one of your provinces, and that we will not do, either. If I now offer you the gem myself, I don't know how you will take it; anyhow, I venture to lay it before you." Han-tsz declined the gem, and said: "I have shown lack of tact. How dare I ask for the gem, and thus commit a second offence? I venture to decline." When Han Süan-tsz's mission was over, the six Chêng ministers saw him off, and each of them sang an Ode as a compliment to him. At the last moment he took Tsz-ch'an aside and presented him with a gem and a horse, saying: "You it was who advised me to relinquish that gem; in other words, you gave me a gem, for you saved my life. By means of these presents I express to you my thanks."

Confucius, at the [Chinese] age of twenty-eight, is first recorded as having taken part in contemporary events. This was in B.C. 525, when a petty prince from the semi-barbarian extreme south-east of Shan Tung, claiming ancestry from an Emperor anterior even to the Hia Dynasty, gave an account of the different bird devices used to mark official rank. On hearing about this, Confucius obtained an introduction, and studied the subject closely, after which he remarked: "I had already heard that when the Sons of Heaven lost control of their official organization, the lore on the subject would be found among the barbarians, and now I see how true it is." This year there was a question of exorcising the evil prognosticated by a comet, but Tsz-ch'an would not have anything to do with it, not believing that human actions could influence Nature's movements. Later on it was strongly proposed to move

the capital on account of certain omens. Tsz-ch'an's reply to this was : " Possibly ; but I do not see any ground for moving." In 522 Confucius again appears in connection with contemporary events. One of his pupils wished to go and condole with some deceased friends in the neighbouring state of Wei [imperial clan], but he objected on the ground that they had been guilty of great political crimes. In the same year the philosopher Yen-tsz [whose works still exist] had an opportunity of delivering his opinions upon the efficacy of prayer ; his prince, the Marquess of Ts'i [Shan Tung], being seriously ill, was disposed to listen to certain favourites who laid the blame on a precentor, and on the astrologer who had not taken proper steps to conciliate the gods (spirits and ghosts). But in a long exordium Yen-tsz pointed out that evil-livers, however active in making offering to the gods, could never induce the gods to favour evil ; and that the remedy lay with princes themselves, who need never fear that the gods would not show favour to virtue ; no amount of interested prayers could overcome the effect of the wretched millions' curses. These wise words led the duke to abolish many of his taxing stations and game laws. In connection with the neighbouring state of Ts'i, too, Confucius had an opportunity of commenting on passing events ; the rule at hunts was that the huntsman should be summoned in a particular way. The duke signalled with his bow instead of with his cap, and consequently the huntsman ignored the signal. He was pardoned, however, on his pleading that " no cap was waved." Confucius said : " Quite right ; definite official rules should take precedence of ordinary commands."

Towards the end of the year 522 Tsz-ch'an fell sick, and made the following remarks to his chief colleague : " When I am dead, you will have to conduct the government. It is only those possessing noble qualities who can be successful in governing the people by easy-going measures. The next best thing is severity. It is as the blaze of fire which the people fear from a safe distance, and

thus few of them lose their lives. Water, on the other hand, is weak and yielding, and the people's familiarity with it breeds contempt for it, and thus many do actually get drowned. For these reasons easy-goingness is the harder to practise successfully." He died after several months' illness, and the colleague in question took over the reins of power. But as he had not the heart to be severe, he adopted after all the easy-going plan. The result was that Chêng was soon overrun by robbers, and people were kidnapped in the swamps. [The Premier] now repented, and said: "If I had followed the right honourable gentleman's advice betimes, things would not have come to this pass." He then raised a body of foot-soldiers to attack the highwaymen of the swamp, and killed them all. Robbers were now less numerous. Confucius remarked on this: "Excellent! When government is too easy the people grow insolent, for when they are insolent they must be restrained by severe measures. Severe measures cause the people to suffer cruelly, and when they suffer cruelly we relieve them with mild measures: thus mildness in support of severity, and severity in support of mildness, and government is harmoniously balanced." [Confucius then quotes a few Odes in support of his thesis.]. And when Confucius heard of Tsz-ch'an's death he wept, saying: "He has left behind him a love reminding us of the good old times."

Tsz-ch'an was succeeded by Tsz-t'ai-shuh, who died on his way to the durbar of 506. He was deeply bewailed by his Tsin colleagues, who referred in feeling terms to Tsz-t'ai-shuh's words at the durbar of 517. "He recommended to me nine things: (1) Do not start trouble; (2) do not presume on wealth; (3) do not rely on favour; (4) do not go against the majority; (5) do not offend propriety; (6) do not presume on your abilities; (7) do not arouse sleeping wrath; (8) do not scheme for what is not honourable; (9) do not offend against what is right." This double allusion to the years 506 and 517 B.C. proves that

Tsz-ch'an's death could not have taken place so late as 496 B.C., as stated by the historian Sz-ma Ts'ien in 90 B.C., but was, in fact, most probably during the year 522, as stated by the *Tso Chwan*, or the expanded history composed by Confucius and his pupil in 480 B.C. Another proof of this is that in 495 B.C. the state of Sung occupied a no-man's-land, which Tsz-ch'an had arranged many years ago should lie unoccupied between Chêng and Sung; in fact, the sudden mention, in 483, of this breach of faith (in 495), probably accounts for the error of Sz-ma Ts'ien in ascribing Tsz-ch'an's death to 496 instead of (as plainly stated by the original authority from whom he copied) in 522.

"THE FREE HINDUSTHAN."

BY A LOYALIST.

"THE Free Hindusthan" is published monthly at an address in New York City, United States of America, as we learn from a copy of this singular organ, which has been forwarded to us by a friend. It is in the form of a small newspaper of six double-column pages, neatly printed, entirely in the English language, and without any advertisements. It describes itself as "An Organ of Freedom, and of Political, Social, and Religious Reform," and it proceeds to inform us that "Resistance to Tyranny is Service to Humanity, and a Necessity of Civilization." After this it quotes Herbert Spencer to the effect that "Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." And it adds that "Resistance to Aggression is not simply justifiable, but imperative; non-resistance hurts both altruism and egoism." These excellent sentiments, printed in large type as headings to the contents, tend to enlist our sympathies for the editor, who modestly conceals his identity under the *nom-de-plume* of "Bande Mataram." But our satisfaction is dissipated when we dip into the contents, and find on the first page and in the first paragraph the statement that "famine in the British India is the chronic disease. Its cause is not want of rain, but the British plundering." After this we are informed that there have been "more Hindusthani editors arrested for expressing our national aspirations," and that Hindu Patriots have been sentenced to transportation for life, because "they were the originators of a steamship company which flourished within a year with such success that the monopoly of the British India Steamship Company was hampered. This is the true reason why they were charged with sedition, and why they are so severely punished."

After this we are not surprised to hear that "our Hindusthanee brothers in South Africa are treated worse than cats and dogs of British," and that they "can't get license to have a shop to peddle, etc," which is especially hard, as we are told that "they were asked and forced to go to South Africa to clear the lands and make the place habitable for the Britishers."

Then follows a letter from Shyemaji Krishnavarma, Esq., M.A. (Oxon), dated from Paris, complaining that all the highest offices in the Indian Administration are filled by Englishmen to the exclusion of natives of the soil, and then, rather illogically, counselling his fellow-countrymen to decline such appointments if offered to them. "The Indian Nationalist movement is," he says, "opposed to all association with the British Government, whose offer of highly-paid offices every true patriot rejects with contempt. The party that I represent insists that every Indian ought to decline to become a cat's-paw by serving a government of foreigners in any capacity." We should hesitate to offer Shyemaji Krishnavarma, Esq., a highly-paid appointment on the chance of his refusing it. He proceeds: "Being convinced of the great sociological truth that subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration, we positively refuse to co-operate with the present alien despotism in India, which is bound to destroy our national life, arts, industries, and every kind of character that one calls noble." The writer's sentiments towards the rulers, who have given peace and prosperity to India and education to himself and his fellows, furnish an eloquent proof of the deterioration of character to which he refers. But this deterioration can hardly be laid to the charge of the British Government of India, considering that Bengal has been under the yoke of foreign invaders from beyond the Himalayas for eight centuries, and was ruled by Mussalman Moguls and Afghans for many hundred years before the English built Calcutta. Aliverdi Khan or Sirajud Daula would have found a very summary

method of disposing of the grievances of an "Indian Sociologist and President of Indian Home Rule Society" like this deteriorated retailer of sedition. As any stick will do to beat a dog with, so every act and action of the Indian Government is in this extraordinary effusion of impotent spite construed as an attempt to injure the people whom it is designed to benefit.

But the unkindest cut of all is an article entitled, "The British Educational Policy in Hindusthan is to keep the People in Ignorance." Judging by the results of that policy as exhibited in the English-speaking writer of this article, it seems a pity that it did not have the effect imputed to it. He goes back to the eighteenth century to adduce a case of the opposition of the court of directors to a proposal made by some educational faddists for the provision of schools for the natives of India, and makes this his text for the usual monotonous cant about oppression and tyranny. He observes that "salvation of Hindusthan from the present state of horrible condition depends upon the education of her people"; and he appeals to the civilized world to come forward with pecuniary aid towards this laudable purpose, winding up with the information that "any contributions from any quarter will be thankfully accepted."

The next theme of our patriotic editor is, "The British Government in Hindusthan is the Cause of our Moral Degeneration"; and he proceeds to attest his moral laxity by the lying statement that the British Government deliberately tries to demoralize its subjects by encouraging them to indulge in opium and strong drink: "Some years ago distribution of free liquor was a common thing; even to-day, to devitalize our most splendid specimens of warlike class of people, the British Government distributes liquor regularly in the Native Army." We hardly know which to admire most—the turgidity of this Baboo's style, or the impudence of his lies. He is very clever at extracting sentences from English and other European authors which

tend, especially without their context, to disparage the British Government in India; but when this method fails to pile on the agony sufficiently to justify his vituperation, he has no hesitation in resorting to a downright lie.

Thus he tells us that "the British Government has already imprisoned several temperance speakers"; but perhaps the most monstrous misstatement is that the British have persuaded the Sikhs and other Indian races to use opium! Another diatribe is founded upon an account of a scuffle between suffragettes and policemen in London, and is headed: "An Instance of Brutal Treatment towards the Nobler Sex by the Britishers, and a Lesson from it." And we are informed that "the Court of Justice in Hindusthan has derided the purity of womanhood, and refuses protection to women when brutally treated by the Tommy Atkins." The climax is reached when the patriotic scribe lays the evils of the system of infant marriage at the door of the British Government. This system is "not owing to the religious belief of the Hindus, but owing to the superstitions and corruptions crept into society during the foreign invasions and periods of foreign domination." We are told that the Maharajah of Baroda has practically put a stop to child-marriage in his dominions by legislation, but that the British Government will not follow his example, and must therefore be held responsible for the evils arising from the system. But this is a light matter, considering that it is already held responsible by patriot scribes for plague, famine, and all the other evils to which poor humanity is subject in India, as elsewhere.

We have inflicted upon our readers already sufficient samples of the melancholy fruits of an intellectual ability without reasoning faculty or moral fibre. We will only observe, in conclusion, that an Indian patriot seems to us to very much resemble an Irish patriot—a kind of petty politician, whose object is not so much the welfare of his country as the satisfaction of personal spite and the gratification of national hatred. Why is it that Ireland is poor and

miserable under the same Government and the same laws under which England and Scotland are happy and prosperous? The answer is that the political system which has been evolved by the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race, and is suited to its needs, is foreign and unsuitable to the Celtic temperament of the Irish people. The Celt has a great respect for authority, and none for law; his political attachment is to persons, and not to principles; he prefers to be ruled by his parish priest rather than by a remote Parliament. A parliamentary system of government in Hindustan, if such a thing ever came within the sphere of practical politics, would be as great a failure as it has proved in Ireland.

We have just seen that the United States Minister of Commerce has decided to forbid the future immigration of Hindus into the States. We can hardly be surprised at this arbitrary action, for persons of the type of the editor and contributors of "*The Free Hindusthan*" cannot be very desirable members of any community.

THE EPITAPHIC LITERATURE OF INDIA.

BY J. KENNEDY, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

IT is a characteristic of the European in the East that he writes epitaphs. Although Orientals have erected magnificent mausolea, their inscriptions seldom throw light on the past history of the occupant. Verses of the Koran in bold Kufic capitals or in delicate relief ornament the walls of the great tomb-mosques of Cairo and Ispahan and Samarkand and Delhi, while the name and date of the builder are concealed in some poetical conceit, some chronological anagram, which tries the skill and tires the patience of the reader. Hindus consign their dead to the flames, and the cenotaph or pillar which may mark the site is uninscribed. But mausolea and cenotaphs are only for the great ones of the world; the memory of ordinary men is abandoned to oblivion. The innumerable tombs under melancholy cypresses outside the walls of Stamboul furnish scarcely a name; the bare and sandy cemeteries on the outskirts of Cairo are equally mute. And what the Mohammedans do not do, the Christians of the Levant can scarcely venture on; the lowly Christian tombs below the ramparts of Damascus contain no hint of their terrible story. If we except the Achæmenids, who imitated the Egyptians in their rock-cut tombs, we find scarcely a single non-Christian epitaph of note, whether ancient or modern, throughout all Asia from the Taurus to the Yellow Sea.

And yet epitaphs would appear to correspond with some of the primary instincts of our nature. A savage constructs a tumulus for the dwelling and commemoration of the dead; but the epitaph alone preserves his individuality. Religion originally prompted the epitaph. The pyramids and *mastabas* of the earliest Egyptians were sculptured with magical formulæ which equipped the soul for the judgment seat of Osiris, and enabled it to pass securely among the

potent spirits of the mysterious under-world. What religion had prompted vanity amplified; the builder of the tomb wrote his own biography, and took credit for virtues which might be real or assumed. The Greeks learned the art from the Egyptians, but they changed its character. The epitaph still retained its primary object—the dedication to the spirits of the other world—but it now became an expression of admiration, love, and piety, or of friendship and regret. The Romans seldom deviated into any sentimental weakness. They recorded the family, the years, and the honours of the deceased; but it is rare to find on Roman tombs any outburst of passionate sorrow such as Catullus pours out on his lost brother. From the pomps and glories of the world early Christians turned away; love and sorrow and the resurrection were their themes, and the noble deeds and public honours of this life were left unrecorded. With the passing of the centuries Christian epitaphs became more florid, vainglorious, or biographical, but the Christian element always remained dominant. And such is still the case among the peoples which follow the obedience of the Eastern churches or of Rome; while English and Dutch and other Protestants, in their revolt from Rome, eschewed the religious epitaph altogether. Among the English or Dutch epitaphs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the great age of epitaph-writing, it is rare to find any definitely Christian sentiment. Classical mottoes mingle with Biblical upon the tombstones, and a stranger might study the English epitaphs of India before 1770 and scarcely be aware that they were Christian.

When an epitaph makes its mute appeal to the passer-by, *Siste paululum, Viator*, it calls his attention to the personality of the deceased, and desires that the deceased may be remembered in his thoughts or in his prayers. But this act of homage paid, the lover of these things will fall to considering what materials he can discover for history and manners, or he may treat the epitaph as pure literature.

We have already treated, in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, of

Christian epitaphs in India, as illustrating the political history or social life of Europeans in the East; we now propose to consider them as literary compositions. The task is different from, and in some ways more difficult than, our former one; for the Anglo-Indian communities before the Mutiny had a type of their own; they were islets of white folk in a dusky sea, and were separated by race, by religion, by the pride of conquest and habits of rule, from the multitudinous populations around them. Thus they necessarily acquired a distinctive character which was reflected in their epitaphs. But their epitaphs, treated as pure literature, reflect the tastes and the literary fashions of Europe. And to criticize them aright, we must first point out certain conditions which Christian epitaphs have to observe.

For the fearful Hindu the burning *ghât*, the crematorium, is the haunt of all ill-omened demons, the spot where goblins perpetually prowl; and in English country churchyards one sometimes meets with couplets like the following:

“Dangers stand thick through all the ground
To push us to the tomb;
And fierce diseases wait around
To hurry mortals home.”

But this rude and popular feeling is the exact opposite of what Christianity inculcates. “Through the churchyard we pass to the Church, and through death to God.” So says Châteaubriand, and St. Augustine had said much the same before him. The churchyard is the abode of sacred peace, of quiet stillness, and of calm repose. It is also the place where children play, and friendly neighbours meet; and kindly human nature, and fond recollections, and a community of love and of fate bind the living with the dead. These feelings the epitaph should represent, or at least respect. Since it must be brief, and is intended to be permanent, it will set forth neither the shock and horror of death nor the sudden passion of grief, but sorrow soothed by the touch of time, and memories and hopes which outlive

the grave. But all these are, to a large extent, only the negative conditions of the epitaph. We are shocked by unkindly words and untimely jests, and pained by excessive lamentations; but within these limits the epitaph may express what it will. On the other hand, the positive difficulties of a good epitaph are great. The subject, death, is universal, and yet in every case it is novel and unique. To avoid commonplace is difficult, and to say anything new of what all men suffer is impossible. The epitaph must be striking if it is to perpetuate a distinctive individuality; and yet most men are commonplace, and human nature is always much the same. Thus the epitaph has all the difficulties of the sonnet, if the sonnet were limited in its subject and restricted in its vein. No wonder that Wordsworth described it as a most difficult kind of composition.

Sometimes the shortest record is the most suggestive. This is especially applicable to the case of the very young and the very great. Great heroes require no record beyond their names; their deeds go resounding down the centuries. But this class is extremely rare. On the other hand, the very young have no deeds; their name is unknown, their existence dear only to their relatives; they entwine themselves in the hearts of their parents with every feeling that is clinging, and sheltering, and tender, and holy; and then suddenly their career is closed, like early flowers nipped by the harsh spring. What a vision of disappointed love and hope is called up by three words on a nameless grave in the Mussuri cemetery—"Lived one hour." Many poets, among them the greatest, Ben Jonson, and Milton, and Coleridge, have written exquisite epitaphs on infants, but none of them are so suggestive as the words we have quoted; and for this reason on the tombs of the very young we number the days and hours of their wondrous brief lives.

Few epitaphs, however, can afford to be brief. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries epitaphs were apt to

be inordinately long, and it was wittily said of Dr. Friend, a famous physician and epitaph-writer of Queen Anne's day :

" Friend ! in your epitaphs I'm grieved
So very much is said ;
One half will never be believed,
The other never read."

Some Anglo-Indian epitaphs, especially the older ones, suffer grievously from their length. Occasionally they contain long extracts from the *Government Gazette* ; and some of them, like the one on Schwartz, would fill a respectable octavo page. Brevity is of the essence of an epitaph. Latin, although it is nowise superior to English in dignity or flexibility, and is generally less appropriate, yet it has this merit of extreme condensation. It is pre-eminently a lapidary language, and our ancestors employed it on tombstones and tablets not only for the epitaphs of professional men, to whom it might seem especially suited, but also for the monuments of soldiers and even of women. It would be hard to beat the following epitaph (A.D. 1833) on a Madras Collector for compression : " Viro optimo, integerrimo, parentibus consanguineis amicis sociis dilectissimo, de patria bene merito, Canaræ primum, deinde Maduræ in hac regione Orientali præfecto, Neville Somerfeld Cameron, morte heu ! immatura surrepto, non uxor sed desponsata virgo, non vidua tametsi viduata nimis, P.C. flens, fidens, sperans." (P.C. = Poni curavit.)

It is one of the first requisites of an epitaph that it should express kindly feeling,

" For it were base for man of woman born
To insult the naked ghost with jibes and scorn."

So says Archilochus, although the Greeks frequently transgressed the rule in their epigrams if not in their epitaphs, as in the well-known epigram on Timocreon :

" Libeller, drunkard, and gluttonous hog,
Lie thou in ashes, Rhodian dog."

And if Theocritus bids the good man rest in blissful quiet and enjoy his nap by the grave of Hippōnax, another

epigram tells the traveller to beware of the wasps that issue from the satirist's grave. Among Indian epitaphs we have only observed a single violation of the general rule: after a name and date there come the words "de mortuis nil nisi verum"—a shocking expression of austere inhuman virtue. See how much more delicately and suggestively the Church manages. On the tomb of a Portuguese lady and her son buried at St. Thomé in 1744 we read: "Inter hujus mundi varias et permixtas tribulationes a mundo, carne, necnon a diabolo instigatas, ad æternos lauros possidendos evolarunt"; or, as the Portuguese has it, "They, after having purified their souls by various tribulations which the enemies of Christian souls raised against them, went," etc. But the Latin is the best.

It is equally essential to remember the sacredness of the place; but this does not imply an undue solemnity. In the India of our ancestors many a tombstone was erected by a friend or comrade, who could not be expected to express the feelings of near relatives. Sometimes it is a stranger who puts up the stone; and one epitaph concludes with a line of Pope: "By strangers honoured and by strangers mourned." The Dutch tombstones of the seventeenth century in India, like the contemporary ones in England, abound in quips, and puzzles, and acrostics. Anglo-Indian epitaphs, being generally erected at a later date when the taste for such oddities had gone out, are usually in a graver vein; but they occasionally indulge in a kindly humour. William Gordon, who died at Dacca in 1817, is thus lamented:

"If Scotia's music have a charm
Your soul to cheer, your heart to warm,
Pause, and do homage to the shade
Of one who in the fiddling trade
Had few compeers; and, what is better,
He was the essence of good nature."

Excessive grief mars an epitaph; its note is too acute. Most English epitaphs in India are marked by great

restraint, even when we know that the grief of the survivors was poignant. Other nations are more demonstrative, and the lines in which a Frenchman bewails his daughter, who had gone to India and died there, reach the limit of permissible grief: "O ma fille! était pour te rencontrer ici, que ton malheureux père accouroit de si loin. Que de vertus ensevelies dans sa tombe! Que de félicités détruites dans sa famille! O mon Dieu! Vous qui connoissiez la pureté de son cœur, daignez la réunir, dans votre sein paternel, à son enfant, à ma vertueuse femme, et à mon fils." Another very pathetic one on an infant is also in French: "Dors en paix, tendre victime, et laisses nous les larmes! Tu parus à peine sur la terre, et ton âme, trop belle et trop pure, repoussa la coupe d'amertume que le monde t'offroit."

An Armenian epitaph, to be quoted hereafter, is equally touching; and who has not bewailed the untimely fate of Rose Aylmer, snatched away in her twentieth year?

"Ah! what avails the sceptred race!
 Ah! what the form divine!
 What every virtue, every grace!
 Rose Aylmer, all were thine.
 Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
 May weep but never see,
 A night of memories and of sighs
 I consecrate to thee."

With the Grecian Heliodora and Wordsworth's Lucy and many another fair and shadowy face, Rose Aylmer lives in the mournful procession of youths and maidens who are crowned with evanescent beauty and timeless grief. But the lines actually on her tombstone are from Young's dull verses, not Landor's exquisite lyric.

It is further the special business of an epitaph to preserve the memory of the deceased by something characteristic, and this attempt takes many shapes. The Alexandrian poets invoked the pastoral muse, and interwove the memory of the dead with the associations of the scene, the silent woods, the meadows bright with flowers, the murmur of

the stream, and the hum of bees ; in Shelley's words, they made "one in love with death, to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place." The following, therefore, from the banks of the Godavari is thoroughly Greek in feeling :

"Soft on thy tomb shall fond remembrance shed
The warm but unavailing tear,
And purple flowers, that grace the virtuous dead,
Shall strew thy loved and honoured bier."

"Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
Violis et fronde frequente,
Titulumque et frigida saxa
Liquido spargemus odore."

So sings Prudentius, and a Greek epigram on the tomb of Sophocles is in a similar vein. Purple flowers have blossomed for a century on the tomb to which the above inscription is consecrated.

The passive melancholy of the scene is enhanced by thoughts of untimely death, and many epitaphs call on us to lament the youth of the deceased. A widow simply says of her husband :

"Here rests his head upon the lap of earth
A youth to Fortune and to Fame unknown."

We find many epitaphs of similar import on young soldiers, but in the following case the elegy is scarcely appropriate to its subject :

"A youth condemned to roam life's barren moor,
Weakly a while his lonely way he led
Through life's perplexing road, till anxious cares
And inward griefs bowed down his infant head.
Tread lightly o'er the sod that shades his breast,
And let the weary pilgrim take his rest."

Surely the lines are fitter for an octogenarian than for an "infant" ensign of twenty-two. An epitaph on a young unmarried lady may be more appropriate, but is enigmatical: "Thalami expertem sine crimine vitam legit."

A frequent mode of characterizing the deceased is by a reference to his last illness, for, as Comte says, we picture

the deceased as we last saw him. Before the discovery of vaccination small-pox was one of the commonest as well as one of the most fatal of diseases, and many poets tried their hands on it. Dryden's lines are very unpleasant; and Cartwright talks of the pustules as "small stars fixed in a milky way, or faithful turquoises." The following epitaph (A.D. 1761) is perhaps the best thing that has been written on the subject. It is on Mary Price "wife of —, the Governor of the Moghul Castle and fleet of Surat, who, through the spotted veil of the small-pox, rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God."

Childbirth also was very fatal to Dutch and English women in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. It is said of Job Charnock's youngest daughter:

"Mortem obiit heu ! immaturam 21 Jan., 1700.
Siste parumper Christiane lector,
Vel quisquis es tandem, et mecum defle
Duram muliebris sexus sortem,
Qui per elapsa tot annorum milia
Culpam prim' Ævæ luit parentis,
Et luet usque dum æternum stabit
In dolore paries filios."

Occasionally the epitaph-writer raises a smile, as when he describes sea-sickness. Mrs. Elizabeth Bamfield, an elderly lady, died on board ship "a few hours after leaving the roads. While indulging in the pleasing anticipations of spending her last days in the company of her relatives and friends, a period was put to her earthly career by violent spasms. How vain and easily destroyed are all the pleasures we promise ourselves in this world!"

This epitaph ends, as many others do, with a moral. Occasionally the moral is the whole epitaph; but when one moralizes one is dangerously apt to be grandiloquent, or obscure, or trite. In the following cases the writers evidently thought to soliloquize in Hamlet's vein:

"Great day of judgment and eternity,
At thought of thee, each sublunary wish
Lets go its eager grasp."

or—

“Know all, know infidels unapt to know,
’Tis immortality your nature solves,
’Tis immortality decyphers man, etc.”

Scripture texts as well as moral sentiments sometimes suffer degradation at the hands of the epitaph-writer. Thus we are told that an officer murdered by bandits was “cut down as a flower”; and it is said of the victims of a shipwreck that “those who go down in ships see the works of the Lord.” The text of “the faithful servant” has often been misapplied, but never perhaps more grotesquely (if the whole story be not an invention) than in the case of a missionary at Peshawar shot by his watchman, who mistook him for a horsestealer. After telling the story the inscription is said to end with the words, “Well done, good and faithful servant.”

The methods we have mentioned of perpetuating a memory are indirect; they start with some accidental circumstance, the associations of scenery, or youth, or mortal disease, or lot. Direct methods of distinguishing a memory are two—we may tell what the man did, or describe him as he was; and of course both are frequently conjoined in a single epitaph. If we confine ourselves to biography we may either seize upon a single incident, the most important or the most characteristic of a man’s career, or we may give a brief history of his life. Epitaphs which deal with a single incident are numerous, and preserve much that would otherwise be forgotten. Thus of Surgeon William Hamilton (A.D. 1717) it is said: “His memory ought to be dear to this nation for the credit he gained ye English, in curing Ferrukseer, the present king of Indostan, of a malignant distemper, by which he made his own name famous at the court of that great monarch, and without doubt will perpetuate his memory as well in great Britain as all other nations.” The prophecy has been fulfilled, for the skill of Hamilton founded the fortunes of the East India Company in Bengal. A century later

several Civil officers have epitaphs of this kind. A Collector of Bellary in the Madras Presidency "Will be remembered so long as the numerous plantations which he planted, and which had gained for him a well-deserved fame, continue to flourish." One who was for many years "Collector of Taxes on pilgrims at Gaya" in Bengal is praised for his "attention to the wants and comforts of the pilgrims visiting the sacred temples." A third gave his name to Revelgary on the Hugli: "He had just established a Customs Chowki at the neighbouring bazar of Semaria in 1788, and during a long residence close to the spot he succeeded in gaining the esteem and affection of the surrounding people who raised this tomb over his remains." Nowadays every civilian official retires at or before the age of fifty-five (the highest alone excepted). A Collector, be it remarked, is the chief executive officer at the head of the civil administration of a district in the older provinces, and a Collector of fifty, or one who has been five years in the same district, is practically unknown. It is suggestive, therefore, to find that the youngest of these three Collectors was fifty-nine, and all had resided a dozen years and upwards in the same locality. It is also typical of the vicissitudes of the time to find that C. Weston (1809) "manifested a grateful mind by cherishing in his old age his former employer and benefactor, the late Governor Holwell," and we are told to "go and do likewise." The majority, however, of the epitaphs which come under this head relate the daring exploits and violent deaths of soldiers and sailors. Here are some examples: Major G. Broadfoot fell mortally wounded at Ferozeshahr in the hour of victory, "the last of three brothers who died for their country on the battle-fields of Asia." It is said of Lieutenant Owen, who fell in the charge at Maiwand: "The holiest place on earth on which to live or die is not on encaustic soil or tessellated pavement, but at the post of duty." "Not near this stone, nor in any consecrated ground, but on the extreme frontier of the British Indian Empire, lie the remains of Patrick

Alexander Vans Agnew . . . and William Anderson, assistants to the Resident at Lahore ; who . . . being treacherously deserted by the Sikh escort, were on the following day, in flagrant breach of national faith, barbarously murdered in the Edgah, under the walls of Multan." A Madras epitaph of 1811 tells how William Dawson, a young lieutenant in the navy, captured a French man-of-war in a three days' fight, his captain having fallen early in the struggle: "After the battle he went to England, where he met the well-earned meed of praise," and then returned to die in India, instead of promotion gaining heaven. Epitaphs of the kind are numerous.

The epitaph which gives a succinct biography of the deceased instead of dwelling on some accident of his lot or incident of his career, is frequently met with where brevity is not essential. Although less striking and less apt for the presentation of a single thought, it generally preserves a higher average level, and preserves the memory of much which deserves to be remembered and is undeservedly forgotten. It is specially adapted for the memory of men of action whose works remain when their personality is lost ; especially suited, therefore, to the majority of Indian officials. Time would fail us to go through the list of the eminent men whose lives are recorded on the marbles of the Presidency churches and cathedrals. They are often happy, but we prefer to quote for its quaintness, and also because the history it records was by no means uncommon, the epitaph on Thackeray's grandfather, Richard Becher, the prototype in part of Colonel Newcome :

"Sacred to the memory of an honest man !

"This humble stone records ye name and Fate (the latter, alas, how unequal to his worth !) of Richard Becher, Esqr., late member of the Board of Trade, and once of ye Council of this Presidency. Thro' a long life pass'd in the service of ye Company, what his conduct was the annals of ye Company will show. On this tablet sorrowing

friendship tells that having reach'd, in a modest independence, what he deem'd the honourable reward of a life of service, to enjoy it he return'd, in ye year 1771, to his native land, where private esteem and public confidence awaited, but where misfortune also overtook him. By nature open, liberal, and compassionate, unpractised in Guile himself, and not suspecting it in others, to prop ye declining credit of a friend, He was led to put his all to hazard, and fell the victim of his own benevolence. After a short Pause and agonizing Conflict, Roused by domestic Claims to fresh exertions in 1781, he returned to ye Scene of his earlier efforts. But ye vigour of life was passed, and seeing thro' ye Calamity of ye Times his prospects darken in ye hopeless efforts to re-erect ye Fortunes of his Family, Under ye pang of disappointment and ye Pressure of ye climate a worn Mind and debilitated Body sunk to Rest."

Many other Anglo-Indians lost their wealth in their old age, and died the victims of "unmerited misfortune." Not so Thackeray's cousin, Colin Shakespeare, the supposed original of Jos. Sedley, who died at Berhampore at the age of sixty-four (1835); and "his character was much respected"—so, at least, his widow says. Most of us have an excellent opinion of fat, easy-going, gourmandising, credulous, good-natured Jos. Sedley, and a still higher opinion of his tormentor, Becky; we enjoy their company, but we can hardly be said to "respect" them. Jos. Sedley is doubtless a libel. The excellent Shakespeare (with a few failings) was all his widow (in her official capacity) would have us believe; but still—still—we are eternally grateful for the libel.

Thackeray represented several generations of Anglo-Indians, both on his father's and his mother's side. Even at the present day it is not uncommon to find families which have served the Indian Government for over a century, and for four or five generations. To mention the first of half a dozen instances that occur to us: Mary Garstin, the daughter of a Bengal chaplain, died in 1811, and her

epitaph says that "she only grieved her husband when she died." Her husband, sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons have served the Indian Government from the Indus to the Irrawady, and have given their names to places in Delhi and Calcutta. One acted as Governor of Madras, and the youngest laid down his life for his country in Tibet. But Sir John Woodburn, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is the best known and most recent example. His ancestors had served the Indian Government for four generations, and his epitaph by the most illustrious of living Anglo-Indians deserves to be quoted for its intrinsic merit, as well as on account of the eminent and honoured hand which penned it, and the virtues of the friend and officer it commemorates :

"In memory of Sir John Woodburn, K.C.S.I., born at Barrackpore July 13, 1843, son of David Woodburn, H.E.I. C.M.S., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal 1898-1902, whose death at Calcutta in November, 1902, after thirty-nine years passed in the Civil Service of India, closed a long and distinguished career. The signal ability that he proved in the discharge of high and important offices, the excellence of his judgment, the kindness of his heart, and the nobility of his character, had raised him to the foremost rank of the Indian Administration, and had won him the respect and attachment and entire confidence of the Indian people, especially in the United Provinces, where he was so well known and will be long remembered."

In contradistinction to the biographical epitaph which narrates what a man did, the psychological describes him as he was. Some men's deeds deserve to be remembered, and the biographical epitaph is their summary ; but it is otherwise with the toiling, labouring, undistinguished mass :

"The common rout,
That wandering loose about,
Grow up and perish, as the summer fly,
Heads without names, no more remembered."

And yet no memory willingly suffers extinction ; every individual has had the form, the passions, the appetites of

a man, was in some way distinguished from all others, and was to some one at some time an object of hope or fear or love. The psychological epitaph is therefore the commonest, for it is coextensive with humanity. Unfortunately it is also the most disputable, and the most open to attack. For the love of friends, or the penitence of relatives, or mere conventionality has covered the church walls with insincere and extravagant praises of the dead; "sepulchral lies" Pope calls them, and Pope ought to know, for he was a master of the art. The tombstones themselves refer to the practice. An epitaph in a Madras cemetery, affecting from its evident sincerity, says that "the tombstone has been so sullied by untruth that it is now a poor memorial of those we mourn." And the fine epitaph on Lady Canning in Calcutta says: "Honours and praises written on a tomb are at best a vain glory." On the other hand, Wordsworth, in the celebrated essay on epitaphs in which he so unmercifully belabours Johnson and Pope, defends these panegyrics from the charge of insincerity; they truly represent, he says, the feelings of the survivors at the moment of their loss. Granted it may be so, but this is not the moment which the epitaph represents: it would harrow the feelings too greatly if the churchyard were full of the passion of parting: moreover, the epitaph is an appeal to the bystanders, and addresses itself to calm reflection and the perspective of time. Now, a man is not on his oath in such matters, as Dr. Johnson said, nor has he to anticipate the judgment of the recording angel; but he writes for the indifferent, and he records what is permanent: and the spectator must realize the verisimilitude of the picture and the sincerity of the writer. What can be more out of place in the contemplation of poor mortality than extravagant laudations and conventional panegyrics?

"All this of Jacob Holmes! for this his name;
He thus kind, liberal, just, religious? Shame!
What is the truth?"

So says Crabbe. And Southey, wittily describing the monument of an elderly spinster, says that the cupids

which supported her epitaph were the only cupids she knew, and the marble tears which rolled down their cheeks the only tears her death occasioned. One would not describe the meanness and avarice of Jacob Holmes, or the vinegary temper of the ancient spinster on their tombstones, for kindly feeling should pervade the scene ; but neither conventionality nor momentary acuteness of feeling is an excuse for palpable falsehood in what should be sweet and serious and solemn.

If Wordsworth pardonably overstates the case for excessive eulogy of the dead, he does the same in his objection to antithesis. Vice, according to Wordsworth, is anarchic, and therefore antithetic phrases should be devoted to vice, and not to virtue. An Aristotelian might object that virtue lies in the golden mean, and is best described between two extremes ; the barque of life sails most safely a middle course between Scylla and Charybdis. On the other hand vice needs only to be mentioned to be known. When the deceased makes a general confession of his sins, he does it in plain terms. On the sarcophagus of a great medieval Countess, the words occur "*Mihi nomen erat Beatrix Quæ fui magna peccatrix.*" In the Armenian cemetery of Calcutta there is "the tomb of a certain unhappy and wretched clergyman hardened in sins. I am the unworthy Revd. Johanness, a great sinner, and son of the Revd. Zachariah, the chaste clergyman of the family of Deela Kheanty. Oh ! you my venerable fathers and brethren who may pass by this sepulchre, I pray ye with a mouthful of dust to deign me worthy of your prayers." Doubtless neither the lady nor the clergyman were sinners above others, but they employ neither ambages nor antithesis in their confession. On the other hand, antithesis has often been very happily employed in the description of a good man's virtues. Sir William Jones's epitaph is an excellent illustration : "Here was deposited the mortal part of a man who feared God, but not Death, and maintained independence, but sought not riches ; who thought none below

him but the base and unjust, none above him but the wise and virtuous ; who loved his parents, kindred, friends, country, with an ardour which was the chief source of all his Pleasures, and all his Pains : and who, having devoted his life to their service, and to the improvement of his mind, resigned it calmly, giving glory to his Creator, wishing Peace on Earth, and with Good-will to all Creatures." The epitaph is fine, and yet the memory does not retain it like an epigram. Contrast its balanced and sometimes non-natural antithesis with the couplet on a medieval schoolman, master of the seven arts and sciences which comprised the whole kingdom of knowledge.

" Qui duo, qui septem, qui totum scibile scivit ;
Scire suum moriens dare vel retinere nequivit."

Sir W. Jones was the greater man ; but the *peine forte et dure* of a life devoted to learning and its transitory rewards are more lastingly commemorated by the obscure schoolman's epitaph. So far Wordsworth is justified in saying that antithetic epitaphs are not among the finest.

Anglo-Indian epitaphs, however, of the eighteenth century are seldom antithetic ; on the other hand, they are frequently pompous and florid, and suffer from a bewildering accumulation of the virtues. A long Latin epitaph on Dr. James Anderson, who was for fifty years a doctor in Southern India, and for twenty-five years Chief Medical Officer of Madras, is a fine specimen of extravagant eulogy ; it is modelled, apparently, on Tacitus's lament for Agrippa, but is too long to quote. The panegyrics which were in fashion were sometimes quite sincere. Colonel Berkeley was much lamented by his regiment ; his officers wore mourning for a month, and put up the following inscription : " An honest man's the noblest work of God ! Reader, if ever the above sublime line of Pope was exemplified by mortal, it was by him whose remains are here deposited. Possessing every cardinal virtue," and so forth and so forth. A lady is said to have " possessed the

highest endowments of mind, and the sweetest charm of manners, and every elegant accomplishment of art, taste, and genius," and many other excellent things besides. We give a sigh of relief when we are succinctly told that a Serjeant "possessed all the virtues of humanity"; and of a wife that "with the fewest failings she possessed the noblest virtues of the mind."

Husbands and wives are the greatest offenders in the matter of extravagant laudation, although all that could be said has been said ages ago. In the sixth century a husband filled over a dozen rude lines of Latin hexameter merely with adjectives descriptive of the excellencies of his wife. The difficulty, of course, is greater when the husband was twice married; he usually declares that he cannot say whom he loved the best, the wife that bore him children, or the wife that reared them. The old Dutchman laid in the grave between his two wives told a story which is sometimes truer: "he now has rest who had rest with neither."

We give two specimens of conjugal epitaphs. The first is from a husband to a wife, dated 1704:

"Beauty doth lay interr'd beneath this stone,
And every virtue sweetly joined in one.
Blessed is the man possess'd of such a wife;
Most bless'd was I while God preserved her life.
Think what I've lost, kind reader, tell me then
Who in this world is wretchedest of men."

A wife records on her husband's tomb (1791):

"He fell a sacrifice to power through the conduct of an Asiatic oppressor, and grief terminated his earthly existence in the 37th year of his age.

"His disconsolate Susanna
His absence here must evermore deplore,
Until like him, alas! she is no more,
Who mouldering lies within this peaceful soil,
And to whose *manes* she raised this sacred pile."

Susanna was evidently not a Latin scholar: she makes a single syllable of *manes*, and there is a suspicion that Susanna(r) was meant to rhyme with more; but she

succeeds in making the cause of her husband's death as mysterious as the plot of a first-class novel. Here is a curious epitaph, by an admirer apparently :

"Stranger, if thy breast be open to the charms of sensibility and its attendant virtues, the inmate of this cell might have enlarged the circle of thy comforts. Her early death has torn a leaf from Friendship's volume. Flattered with a smiling dawn, her days were quickly clouded by misfortune, and though a more than fraternal love tried all its tender influence to soothe and mitigate her sorrow, she reached not the meridian of life."

In some cases, the epitaph commemorates not the dead, but the living. William Palmer, long a resident at Hyderabad, and founder of a famous banking house, says that "his memory requires no record. But he desires anxiously that the goodness of Hester Palmer, his wife, toward him, who survived him, should be known," and he sets forth her good deeds at great length. The most curious and characteristic example, however, of this kind is the inscription on the Cyclone Monument at Masulipatam. After giving details of a storm which destroyed the writer's brother and his brother's family with some 30,000 others, it goes on to say : "Manuel Fruvale, anxious to pay a tribute of affection to the memory of his brother and family, and to express his cordial sympathy with his fellow-citizens, has caused this pillar to be erected on the very spot where his relatives perished, to perpetuate the remembrance of this awful event, and to serve at the same time as a lasting memorial of the grateful feelings with which he and the entire population recognize the unceasing and noble-hearted exertions of their worthy Chief Magistrate, G. Thornhill, Esquire." We wonder if the worthy Chief Magistrate revised the perspiring English of the grateful Eurasian.

The epitaphs with which we have hitherto dealt all belong to what may be called the secular and literary class ; they refer to the past life of the individual, and commemorate the survivor's affection and esteem. The secular

epitaph in its modern form dates from the Renaissance and the Reformation. Religious and liturgical epitaphs belong to a different and older class; they put by all the honours and pomps of the world, and occupy themselves with the soul's future life, or if they narrate the past history of the individual, it is in the spirit of a canticle or psalm. They are generally brief, and with them literary expression is a secondary object; but occasionally they attain to much poetic beauty. The finest liturgical epitaphs in India are Armenian, of which we shall quote two specimens.

The first is from the tomb of "the famous *Kharib*" (foreigner) Khojah Johanness" "from Julfa, in the country of Shosh" (Persia.) "He was a considerable merchant, honoured with the favours of Kings and of their Viceroys. He was handsome and amiable, and had travelled North, South, East, and West, and died suddenly at the City of Hughly, in Hindustan, on the 27th November, 1697, and delivered up his soul into the hands of the Angel, and rested here in a foreign land, seeking his home. The end of the world will come, the Cross will shine in the East, the trumpet of Gabriel will be blown suddenly at the middle of the night, the judgment-seat will be set for the Bridegroom to come and sit thereon (who will say), 'Come, ye blessed of My heavenly Father.' And this Khojah Johanness will then act just like the five wise virgins, and likewise keep himself in readiness to enter into the sacred nuptial chamber which the righteous inherit, to the right of the saints." Although the framework of this epitaph is traditional, for the Oriental Church has from very early times held the belief that Christ will appear in the East, and the parable of the wise virgins is not uncommon in ancient Christian inscriptions, yet the elevation and imagery of the epitaph are very fine. Our second example, too long to quote in full, describes life after the manner of a psalm. Arratoon Catchik, a native of Ispahan, came early in life to India to trade, and then married his wife Annie. "She bore me children like angels, who

praised the glory of the Lord. Oh, how great a joy they were to us when they would wake up at dawn to glorify the Lord with songs of praise, whereby they would fill our home with all that was good. But alas! inconstant and cruel destiny spares not even the tender years of youth, for the unendurable gale of Death fell on our dear children. Forty days rolled by, and ruthless Death snatched from us our pair of turtle doves, for whose irreparable loss my devoted wife through excessive grief succumbed to consumption, and she soon went to her rest, and leaving this world, departed to associate with the saints above. Then I, who was left alone, asked the Lord in my weakness to give rest to my soul, who having compassion on me, sent anon His angel after my soul, in answer to the prayers of unhappy me, and into whose hands I yielded my soul with all faith, humbly asking remission for my innumerable sins."

Religious epitaphs in English are extremely rare and extremely brief. The finest of them all, perhaps, is that on Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow: "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty. May the Lord have mercy on his soul!" A splendid epitaph, and admirably characteristic of the man, but one which we should surely grudge to anyone else; for it is the epitaph, not of an individual, but of a service. Honour and virtue are the tonics of life; but duty is the life-blood, and no man can claim a monopoly for himself. With equal justice one might say of every good man that he tried to be good, and died in the process:

"Beauty, youth, strength are flowers but fading seen;
Duty, faith, love are roots and evergreen."

Epitaphs are now no longer in fashion; we content ourselves with a name and a date, or the briefest of records. Is it that we, who are always in a hurry, have no time to write or read funereal inscriptions? Do we avoid the thought of death more sedulously than our ancestors? or are we in such love with simplicity that we cannot express

our feelings? If there is a reaction against the stilted style, the ornate prose, the florid phrases which formerly prevailed, *that* is surely no reason why we should not invent a style suited to ourselves. We feel what our ancestors felt; we have loved and suffered as they did; and death is ever fresh, and love is ever young, and for generations men have celebrated the sad nuptials of both. The epitaph is the last office we render to the dead, when time has mellowed sorrow, and distance and affection have cast the glamour of the mirage over the harshness of reality.

Whatever the reason may be, certain it is that we have lost the art of composing what Sir Joshua Reynolds called "grave epigrams." Our monuments are dumb, and we hope that posterity will remember virtues which we do not take the trouble to record. To give an instance of this decadence: The Committee of the London Library came some time ago into possession of a bust of their first President, Carlyle; but although the Committee is composed of eminent men of letters, they have not yet been able to secure a fitting motto. It is said that various ones have been proposed and rejected. A friend suggests the following, which we print, although we sadly fear it is foredoomed to the waste-paper basket, like the eminent compositions of the aforesaid gentlemen:

"The fiery genius of Carlyle
Blazed like a star in Heaven awhile;
But when he died, Froude took him down,
And quite put out his old renown.
Carlyle now shivers in his shroud
Whene'er he hears the name of Froude."

THE FUTURE OF THE CONGO NATIVES UNDER THE NEW RÉGIME.

BY MAJOR A. G. LENNARD.

THE fact that the Congo as a so-called Free State is dead, and that Belgium has taken over the administration of its 15,500,000 inhabitants, has now become a matter of history. History or no history, however, there are connected with this transfer certain great and broad issues which still retain for the humanitarian, if for no one else, an interest and a significance that is as deep as it is long. It is true that with the exit of the autocrat Leopold, Absolutism is also dead. But is it dead, or only on its last legs? Is there any absolute certainty that it is defunct any more than Leopold himself is? Is it not a matter of absolute fact that the little candle, even in its dying flicker, is able to shed its beams into the surrounding darkness with almost greater effect than when burning in all the strength and fulness of its brief life and capacity? It is scarcely likely that the autocrat who for so long has ruled the destinies of so many negroes, whom for his own uses he made more abject and down-trodden than they were, and whose sweat and labours he turned into a veritable gold-mine—an El Dorado out of which he has enriched himself and beautified Belgium—will be content to take a back-seat, and remain a mere cipher, while there is a kick left in him. With a Ministry constituted as is the Belgian, that all these years has been under Leopold's own thumb, it is but safe to infer that if he does not make a cat's-paw of it, he will still have a great deal to say in the matter. One thing is beyond question, Leopold is still behind the scenes, and is quite certain to remain there as long as ever he can—if for no other reason, because of the vast financial interests that he has at stake! Another matter is also obvious. However spotless their character, however honest their

intention, the Belgian Parliament would have its work cut out to undo the mischief that over fifteen years of misrule and illegality of system have effected. But is the Belgian Cabinet, taken as a whole, either spotless or honest in its intentions? In other words, is it free to act according to its own free will and conscience, or are these subordinate to other more dominant interests? To anyone who has followed closely and carefully the history of Belgium and the Congo for the last few years, the answer to these questions is as palpable as nose on face. Up to the moment of taking over, the Belgian Cabinet, by its own procedure and action, certainly did not gain the confidence or respect of our Government—either Conservative or Liberal—any more than it did that of the advanced and liberal-thinking members of its own Assembly. We all know how strenuously throughout Messrs. Vandervelde, Lorand, and others have all along fought on behalf of the natives against the detestable and interested toadyism and collusion of a Cabinet which bent before the imperious will and Machiavellian principle of Leopoldian self-craft as an impotent reed shaken to its very roots by the blast of the rude and fierce Boreas. We know, too, that Vandervelde, Lorand, and company are men as deserving of the highest respect and honour as the great Englishmen who secured the abolition of slavery, for their noble and disinterested championship of the ill-used Congo natives; compatible as this has been with those sublime principles of freedom, rationality, and humanity that Gladstone—always great in spirit and endeavour—strove for with all his might and main. We are willing, too, to make every concession with regard to the national honesty and good intent of the Belgian people. Against them we have not a word to say. In their favour we have many words of good feeling, sympathy, and encouragement. But, willing as the spirit so often is, the flesh, unfortunately, as we all have occasion to know, is also but weak and inconsistent. This, however, is not our point. It may be, as Mr. Morel thinks it is, that the

permanence of the Belgian solution depends upon the Belgians themselves. It certainly would if the people in the first instance had anything to say in the matter. But have they? It is upon the answer to this pertinent question that the entire solution of the matter rests. For in spite of these concessions, it is not possible to conceal from ourselves the fact that, under the existing régime and the present constitution of Belgium, the people appear powerless to guide, much less to control, the operations and acts of the Ministry that is in power.

So far as we have gone, these are all interesting questions, but there remains one of even still greater interest to consider. This is as regards the future fate and condition of the unfortunate natives, who so far, alas! for themselves, have served as the enforced means to the end of Leopold's self-enrichment. Will they benefit by the change? If so, how much and when? This, in fact, is the main object of our theme. For, apart from the humanity of the object, and the fact that these people have our whole and heartfelt sympathy, there is an economic aspect to the question, which, important as it is, cannot in any sense be overlooked.

But it is not our intention to look back. The past, as far as our purpose is concerned, is done with. It is with the present—with things as they are, or have been since the recent annexation—that we are about to deal. Let us see for ourselves what the Belgian Ministry—upon whose goodwill and government 15,500,000 aliens are now dependent—has done or not done, as the case may be.

In the first place, it has shown in its actions a complete disregard for the views of Great Britain, besides an obvious intention of leaving the fundamental iniquity of the Congo Administration's régime untouched. This, of course, from the Belgian standpoint, may be a matter of but trifling importance, as compared with matters of greater moment. But from the native point of view, and on the still broader grounds of humanity, the Belgian Government may one

day, to their cost, realize the error of their ways and the gravity of their position. Putting this to one side, however, as unworthy of present consideration, there are other matters which have a more direct and personal connection with themselves that require looking into. Thus, for instance, a treaty has been passed through the Chambers that confirms the financial corporations in their powers and privileges over about two-fifths of the entire Congo territory, these powers and privileges being incompatible with international treaty obligations.

Then again, without any loss of time, the Ministry has already passed a Colonial ordinance. This declares : (a) That all existing Congo legislation is valid in law; (b) and provides for the creation of a Colonial Council, the majority of whose members are to be nominated by Leopold himself. Now, what does this particular law, when analyzed and dissected, come to? That no native title to land is good unless proof is produced of a permanent occupation since the year 1885; that the natural produce of the soil is the property of the Government; that *forced labour* is legal. Lastly, that the actual and real nominee of this new Colonial Council is none other than the arch-absolutist and author of all the misery and woe under which the Congo has been groaning.

But this is not all. As if it were not enough in itself, the Ministry (upon whom depends the moral and material well-being and regeneration of 15,500,000 souls as white as their own, although their bodies may be dark, and that of its own accord has taken the burden on its own shoulders) has so far resisted with success every attempt made by a substantial Parliamentary minority to secure in this recent Colonial ordinance a recognition of native rights in land, as well as the natural produce and freedom of labour, by opposing with the whole weight of their influence every amendment brought forward with the above just and reasonable ends.

Further, it has appointed as Colonial Minister an indi-

vidual who vacated the Board of one of the Congo *concessionnaire* companies to enter the Cabinet; and this company, be it remembered, is one of several concessions that, according to Vice-Consul Mitchell's report, subjected the native population in its territories to an abominable slavery, lasting all the year round, accompanied by floggings, imprisonments, and punitive expeditions. And as if to cap this, to surpass the Machiavellianism that it learnt at the feet of its august master, as if through its contact with African mysticism and darkness, it delighted in surprises and the unexpected, it has cleverly contrived to engraft another sting in the scorpion's tail. In plain English, it has appointed as Chief of the Staff to this Colonial Minister a certain M. Droogmans, who was one of the triumvirate of high officials of the Brussels staff of the old Gargantuan Administration.

As a final measure, the Belgian Government has, at the last moment, challenged the right of Great Britain to withhold her recognition of Belgian annexation. Now, these are plain facts which speak for themselves, and that require neither comment nor criticism. Notwithstanding this, there are just a few points which it will be as well for us to touch upon, merely for the purpose of accentuating the object that we have in view.

It is obvious to anyone who has studied the history of Congo misrule that the master-key which has set in motion this new administrative machinery is the same old misfit that has always been in use. There is nothing gained by a concealment of the fact. There is probably no organized attempt to conceal it. None the less, it is a fact of great importance and significance, demonstrating, as it so clearly does, that in spite of the flourish of rhetorical trumpets, the recent change of Government has, as far as the natives are concerned, been but a jump from the frying-pan into the fire. Dusty as it is, Leopoldian diplomacy is so thin and diaphanous, that one must be blind not to see through it.

It is not, as has already been pointed out, either

Belgium or the Belgian people that has taken over the Congo. It is not even the representative chamber of the country, but a Cabinet that is under the orders of its late ruler. While Belgium nominally is responsible for the Congo, its administration is in the hands of a mere handful of men, whose will is the will of the kingly Tarantula behind the scenes. Thus a gigantic burden has been imposed on the many by the few—the many who are in the dim gloom of covered lights, while the few on the boards have the glare of the footlights turned full upon them. These are not mere matters of opinion, but solid matters of fact—facts that are too substantial to be either overthrown or disputed.

Is it, we ask, possible, then, in the face of such evidence, to arrive at any definite conclusions with regard to the future of the Congo natives? Is it possible to foresee any amelioration or improvement in their hard lot under the new Administration?

Before attempting to answer this apparently knotty question, let us investigate still further into the methods and policy that the Belgian Government has been pursuing since the annexation. Beyond a vague promise of a general character, it has given us no guarantee of any kind that the rights of the natives will be restored, or that a normal policy is to be introduced. Side by side with these diplomatic assurances, the Belgian Cabinet has made positive statements contradicting them. The very fundamental evils under which the natives have suffered grievously have been pronounced legitimate, and defended by the very Ministers who have now assumed the government of the country. The magnificent efforts made by the Belgian reformers to secure guarantees in the Colonial ordinance on behalf of native rights in land, property, and freedom of labour, have been foiled by these selfsame Ministers. Their labour has been fruitless, their sacrifice in vain. Forced labour on the Congo is still the law of the land. The law of native custom (that goes back to time

immemorial) as to land tenure is treated as non-existent. A continuous occupation for twenty-three years is the only native title that is held valid in Congo State law. Neither trade nor freedom of trade exists. The liberty of the subject is not known in any form, except the freedom that works for iniquity, and to serve its own ends. This is the outline of the position as it stands at present. As Mr. Morel, speaking recently before a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Congo Reform Association, said: "The intention of Belgian diplomacy is becoming more and more clearly defined. It is, on the one hand, to seek to lull us with general assurances, to protest the good faith of Belgium, to appeal to our chivalry towards a small people, and, on the other, partly in official despatches, partly through the mouthpiece of its directly inspired press and its subsidized jurists, to contest absolutely England's right to withhold recognition if dissatisfied with the terms of annexation; to proclaim Belgium's right to dispense with such recognition." This is an opinion that we heartily endorse, because it defines the position just as it is. Indeed, the fact that Mr. Morel's name is attached to it is sufficient guarantee, in our estimation, that the statement uttered is just and accurate, for if there is one man in the whole world who knows the history and the truth of the Congo Free State from beginning to end—its ins and outs, its pros and cons, its so-called development of civilization and darkly diabolical motives and acts, in which inhumanity has triumphed over humanity—it is Edward de Ville Morel, a man who, for depth and breadth of true humanity, stands above the ruck (including His Majesty King Leopold of Belgium and his staff), as the oak towers over the nettle. The explanation is simple. The principles that animate Mr. Morel are of the loftiest type. He recognizes that above and beyond the justice of human and national tribunals is that supream and sublimer justice of humanity. Men such as this, who can feel and fight for the interests of those outside their own, are rare.

To such men only belongs that rich moral sympathy which alone gives them an insight into the woes and sufferings of these unfortunate bottom-dogs of the world, who for over thirty centuries have been outlawed and trampled upon by the more masterful races from the North and East.

With nothing material to gain, and everything to lose, by his advocacy of a cause which the great Powers of Europe (England alone, perhaps, excepted) have so disgracefully neglected, Mr. Morel has all through shown himself disinterested as he is humane. Sacrificing everything for the great and glorious cause of humanity in the splendid fight that he has fought on behalf of the Congo natives, he has demonstrated a spirit of unselfish self-abnegation, a courage, a devotion, and a fixity of purpose which in some aspects excel even the heroic grandeur of the struggle made by Wilberforce, Granville Sharp and Co. at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Sufficient evidence has, we think, been adduced to prove that, for the present at all events, no change for the better in the condition of the natives is about to take place ; on the contrary, that they are to remain in much about the same position as they occupied under the most heartless and absolute autocrat of modern, if not of all, time. This state of the case is exactly as was anticipated by all those who had made a careful study of it. But if any further evidence than we have given were needed to make the case against the Belgian Government still more complete, the fact that the Congo Reform Association has decided to carry on its campaign on behalf of the natives is of extreme significance. This more than anything else implies that the lot of the poor negroes is no whit better than it was, for although Mr. Morel has been the life and soul of this humane organization, the members of the Executive Committee, from Lord Monkswell, its President, downwards, besides all those who have morally and materially supported it, have worked nobly and unselfishly for a great and worthy object.

The main purpose and motive for which this Association was originally formed was "To secure for the natives inhabiting the Congo State the just and humane treatment which was guaranteed to them under the Berlin and Brussels Acts, by the restoration of their rights in land and in the produce of the soil, of which pre-existing rights they have been deprived by the legislation and procedure of the Congo State."

That this purpose—the necessity of a merciful intervention—still exists, is obvious by its continuation. What more, then, can we say in justification or otherwise of the new régime? Of what use is it under existing circumstances to make any forecast with regard to the future of the unhappy natives?

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held on Tuesday, November 3, 1908, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., a paper was read by John Pollen, Esq., C.I.E., LL.D., on "Indian Students in England"—the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair. There were present, among others: The Dowager Lady Lamington, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir W. H. Curzon Wyllie, K.C.I.E., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Henry Prinsep, K.C.I.E., Sir John Lambert, K.C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. Krishna Gobinda Gupta, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Moungh Ohn Ghine, C.I.E., Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. S. M. Mitra, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Major A. F. W. King, I.M.S., Mrs. and Miss Pollen, Major M. M. Sinha, Mr. V. V. S. Aiyar, Mr. D. Datta, Mr. W. F. H. Hamilton, Mr. A. A. Hussanally, Mr. P. C. Tarapore, Mr. B. J. Desai, Mr. M. R. N. Aiyangar, Mr. F. E. H. Hosein, Mr. A. Sen, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. M. Tofail, Mr. M. D. Malak, Mr. Nathu Ram Tanau, Mr. N. H. Setalvad, Mr. K. Chowdry, Mr. K. Bhatta, Mr. M. D. Jaini, Mr. A. Hoon, Mr. Alex Abbott, Miss Beck, Major S. Hassan, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. S. Kahan Singh, Mr. M. Shakir Ali, Mr. M. Hasan Siddiji, Mr. M. H. Azad, Major N. P. Sinha, Mr. A. K. Sinha, Mr. B. K. Mullick, I.C.S., Mr. B. K. Naz, Mr. J. D. Connell, Mr. S. G. Velinkar, the Misses Euthoven, Mr. J. Táleyárhán, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. C. E. Cowper, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. B. Nand, Mr. Mohudin Narma, Miss B. McLaren, Mr. S. R. Davar, Mr. P. L. Misra, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. R. C. Saunders, Mr. P. Karandikar, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. M. M. Mallik, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. B. B. Kanga, Mr. J. Royeppen, Mr. H. D. Cama, Mr. K. B. Pudunjee, Mr. M. K. Sett, Mr. S. D. Bhedwar, Mr. Edward Delgado, Mr. M. Ishmail, Mr. I. J. Sorabji, Mr. J. S. Bhumgara, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, the Misses Delaney, Mr. Prabhat C. Sen, Mr. S. A. D. Punch, Mr. M. Bhattacharji, Mrs. Ginsburg, Mr. J. Walsh.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the lecturer, the paper was read.

On the conclusion of his paper, Dr. Pollen placed on the table the two following letters, received by him that morning. The first letter showed the kind of assistance and information students coming to this country for the first time desired to obtain. The second gives the matured opinion of an Indian student who had been some time in England, on the question discussed in the paper.

SIALKOT,

October 12, 1908.

DEAR SIR,

I have come to know, through the columns of *Punjabee*, that your society furnishes some valuable and good information to the Indian students who wish to come here for the purpose of education.

As I am coming here to fulfil my engineering course, so I think is advisable to have some useful hints as to the study, board, lodging, and expenses for engineering career before my departure to foreign land; further to add, I have passed the entrance examination of the Punjab University in 1906, and have also passed the first examination in civil engineering of the said University in 1908, and at present I am a sub-overseer in the canal department getting Rs. 45. My age is twenty-two years; so, please, if you be kind enough to favour me with such information as to enable me to gain any college in order to secure a position in my own mother-country, I will be much indebted to you.

November 2, 1908.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,

I just give you my views regarding the needs and wants of an Indian student in this country.

1. It would be of great use to him if there is a list of good boarding-houses and private families who are willing to take him. I should myself prefer to live in a private family, as there is much more opportunity of getting insight into the English ways and customs. I think, as a rule, they are preferable, as they are more refined and cultivated.

2. It would be very nice if he can get introduction to several good English families; an acquaintance of this sort is very valuable, as he would come in contact with the best side of the English life and character. One good acquaintance leads to another. I think there are very few Indian students who have succeeded in forming such friendships.

3. There should be some means of knowing some good social or literary circles, clubs, and societies. This is necessary for the expansion of one's mind and intellect.

4. I would not like the idea of having a separate establishment for the Indians to reside in or as a meeting-place. The herding of the Indians in this way would destroy the object for which they come from India. I should rather prefer not to live in the same house with an Indian. Here the object of the Indian student is to learn the English manners, ways, and customs, and to have a general view of the European life, customs, and culture. I think nowadays it is necessary to know one more European language besides English.

5. It would prove of great utility if there were a list of some nice families or boarding-houses in Paris, and in one German town, where it would be easy for him to acquire French or German.

6. No kind of restriction should be placed on the Indian student, as it would be resented to the utmost. Whatever may be his political opinion,

he ought not to be coerced into adopting one which may be repugnant to him. He ought to be left free to gather his own impressions.

I trust these points will throw some light on this interesting topic.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think, in the first place, we are very much obliged to Dr. Pollen for having read this paper, though without doubt it may have touched up the feelings a little of all of us who are here assembled, and I think he has travelled on ground upon which angels might have had some compunction in going; but he has done so with quite unbiassed judgment, and I think he has stated his opinions with perfect fairness to all parties concerned. You may not agree with him, but you must see that his mind was impartial when he wrote his paper. Without discussing those political points and points of behaviour and of character-contrasts which he referred to—I do not think that it is essential for me to do so on the present occasion—we must feel that he did state and frankly acknowledged with regard to the position of affairs both here and in India that there are certain facts which cannot be gainsaid, and I think we must take that as the starting-point of our discussion. We do realize that, at all events, a very considerable number of our Indian subjects are coming over to this country, and in many cases they are left to their own resources, and they come sometimes rather hopelessly to grief. They do not better themselves, nor do they return better citizens to their own country. The object of this paper is to see how the position can be improved, and to see whether something cannot be done to give more of a home to those who come from India. It is not a new idea, but, still, nothing has been done in the past except the example at Maybury. What we should like to hear this afternoon are not so much the cut-and-dried opinions of those like Dr. Pollen and myself, but the views of those who would be most immediately concerned by the adoption of some scheme. (Hear, hear.) The proclamation to which Dr. Pollen has alluded, that was promulgated yesterday, stated very clearly what are the feelings of us Britishers towards our Indian fellow-subjects. We do wish them well, one and all, collectively and individually, as dwellers under our British supremacy. We want to come to an immediate declaration of what can be done at the present time, and how to give effect to our sentiments as regards those who come over to these shores. I certainly hail with satisfaction three particular headings put forward by Dr. Pollen at the end of his paper as affording some structure for a scheme for trying to assist and improve the surroundings of those who come over here. I think if there were a combination of the three societies mentioned in subparagraph 4 of Dr. Pollen's summary, so that their influence would be more widespread and appreciated, something might be done. We want a place where we can come in touch with those Indians who arrive on these shores. I may say myself, having the fondest recollection of my stay in Bombay, that ever since I have returned it has always been a matter for regret that I have not seen more of those Indian students who come over here. Everybody in London lives a busy life, and it is almost impossible to have personal interviews to any large extent; as one has such a mass of

engagements; but if there were a central place where we might meet I believe a greater sympathy would be produced—(hear, hear)—and also greater help given to those who come over here. (Applause.) Dr. Pollen very rightly demurred at what he called “a mechanical remedy,” and therefore wished to exclude the India Office, except as a very indirect influence. That, I think, is quite correct. We do not want to establish any system of control for those who come over here of their own accord; we only want to help them. But, at the same time, I do think the India Office—and this is not my own idea, but the idea of a gentleman than whom no one is better qualified to form an opinion on this subject—that the India Office might do good by receiving and recognizing those who come over here. These would require to be accredited by their parents or guardians, and their objects and intentions stated. They might be received from time to time by some member of the Council, or the Secretary of State, or whoever could afford the leisure, at an informal levee. I think a great deal might be done on those lines without in any degree interfering with the liberty of the Indian students. (Hear, hear.) You want the informal and the formal, if possible, combined in the reception and the taking care of these Indians. There is one other point I would lay stress on, and that is that I do not think they should come over ~~here too young. I believe they become denationalized, and I do not think anybody wants to see an Indian denationalized through coming over here.~~ We want the Indian to acquire what is best in ourselves, and at the same time not to lose his own national characteristics and feelings. (Hear, hear.) If this idea has some recognition on the part of the India Office, they could lay down what they thought was a suitable age. The other points dealt with by Dr. Pollen I do not think are of so much importance as the three to which I have alluded. I would now invite a discussion on the part of those Indians who are here, and I am glad to see here the largest number I have had the pleasure of meeting since my return to this country. I hope that betokens not only an interest in this subject and a determination to get some idea as regards our future policy, but that they are going to take an interest in this East India Association, and thereby enable us to meet together in the future more frequently than we have done in the past. (Loud applause.)

MR. S. G. VELINKAR said that Dr. Pollen was to be congratulated upon the selection of the subject, which was one of great importance to them all. He was an Indian student himself. Although he had not had so much experience as Dr. Pollen, still he had mixed with Indian students, and had had opportunities of getting a certain amount of experience. No doubt a state of things had arisen in which some remedy was required. The causes which had led to the present state of things were: ignorance of Indian parents and guardians of the immense temptations that beset the young Indian student when he came to this country; their carelessness in sending their children and wards to study in this country without taking any precaution whatever with regard to their surroundings while in this country; the sending of raw youths of immature judgment with no will-power to this country; the absence of a well-organized and established

bureau or central body to which the parents or guardians could apply for information, or to whom the students could look for watchful and sympathetic guidance; and lastly, the absence of control of the youths by some person or body of persons acting *in loco parentis* with regard to their money matters. These things ought to be remedied, but he thought they would all agree that there should be an utter absence of officialism or interference with the personal liberty or independence of the students. (Hear, hear.) There was nothing an Indian student resented more than anything which would fetter his individual independence and liberty. The remedies he suggested were, firstly, a sympathetic recognition of the difficult position of an Indian student in this country, and sympathetic treatment of his shortcomings; secondly, an attempt to achieve the betterment of the Indian student in England by placing him in healthy surroundings, and by giving him an opportunity of seeing the best of English life; and, thirdly, an awakening in the student of his sense of loyalty to our throne and the Government established by law—(loud applause)—an awakening in him of his responsibility to himself, to his parents or guardians, and last, but not the least, to those who are likely to come to this country in the future.

MR. TARAPORE thought that each of the nations who represented the rulers and the ruled should, in criticizing any section of the other, pay due regard to the latter's sense of self-respect. From what had recently appeared in the English papers, both here and in India, one might imagine that England was suffering from three calamities—the Unemployed, the Suffragettes, and the Indian students. The effect of some of these statements had been to cast unfavourable reflections upon the general character of the Indian students which was unfair and unjust. What would they think of him if he formed a general estimate of the character of the undergraduates at Oxford from the conduct of those who were hauled up in the court of the Vice-Chancellor? It had been said that the Indian student led an indolent life, but, as a matter of fact, he exhibited an industry unsurpassed by the students of any other country. (Loud applause.) They were informed that it was the Indian law student who indulged in this policy of laziness; but those who made that accusation should remember that some of the most brilliant men in India had been drawn from the Bar; that a far larger number of graduates and "double" graduates were coming to the Bar from India at the present time than had been the case in the last ten years, and that, therefore, the only logical inference from the statement of such critics would be that school and college education under British rule in India had been deteriorating during the last generation. In reference to the proposal for the establishment of an agency to help Indian students in obtaining the requisite information, and in finding suitable places of residence, the speaker thought it was highly advisable that such a machinery should be of a purely non-official character. Successive Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities had advised the educated people of India to learn the principle of not depending upon Government for every educational want that manifested itself amongst them. The suggestion of an official agency in the sight of this continued expression of opinion on the

part of eminent representatives of Government seemed to be rather inconsistent, and certainly reactionary. With regard to the suggestion that Indian students should be discouraged from coming to this country, he thought nothing could be more mischievous, because if they could not come to this country they would go to other countries, which would be a very undesirable result—(hear, hear)—because whilst the worst thing a student would learn in England was the use of violent language, in some other countries he might be encouraged to study arts not entirely of a peaceful character. Extend a warm, a friendly, a truly sympathetic welcome to the Indian student in England; do nothing to create in his mind even a suspicion that his legitimate liberty in dealing with his own affairs was sought to be interfered with; let the liberal and elevated life of England work freely upon his thought and action; and if he was a sensible man, he would return to his country a wiser and a stronger man, with a faith as deep as that recently expressed by Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji in the righteousness and conscience of the English people. (Applause.)

MAJOR SINHA, speaking as one who had been a student here twenty-five years ago, and was now the father of a student here, said that what they really wanted was sympathy for Indian students in this country. They had produced good men from students of his days who had turned out to be brilliant members of the Bar and several other professions, and also High Court Judges, and he trusted that many of his young friends in the room would turn out to be as good men. If they found any defects in some of the boys, they must not take it for granted that the whole lot were bad. As regard hostels, they would never be tolerated by the Indians. The Indians sent their boys to England to see and learn as much of English life as was possible within the few years of their stay here, and if they were huddled together with hundreds of their own countrymen in a hostel they would not have any chance of doing so. He did not see why the India Office should not spend a certain amount of money for the benefit of their students. Why could not they have the same advantages as Japan and Siam and other countries provided for their youths in this country? In Edinburgh they had started a sort of club, where Indians could meet each other, and could also meet their Scotch friends. He could not understand why the India Office could not put £500 a year, or even £5,000, towards the maintenance of a home for the use of the Indian students in London. (Loud applause.)

MR. ROYEPPE, with regard to the suggestion of establishing hostels, said he had stayed with English families, and knew how Englishmen could treat Indians here. He had stayed with families whose friends stopped visiting them because an Indian was their guest. (Cries of "Shame!") This was a question of colour. (No, no.) When he came over to this country he was invited to Sir Charles Elliot's house, and Sir Charles Elliot asked him why he did not join the Northbrook society, and he said if he mixed with Englishmen his manners would be spoiled. (Laughter.)

MR. KARANDIKAR thought that the state of affairs that had been spoken to by Dr. Pollen was due to the age limit in the Civil Services. Some

years ago the House of Commons passed a resolution with regard to examinations. If that had been acted upon, very likely the younger generations would not have come over to England. He strongly urged upon the meeting to use their influence in the House of Commons and with the Secretary of State, as well as with the Governments of the various Presidencies, and impress upon them the desirability of carrying out the decision arrived at by the House of Commons years ago. There would then be no necessity for young Indians to come over to this country in such numbers. What was wanted was an extension of a feeling of brotherhood. Unless that feeling spread there would be no change. He did not agree with what the Indian Government had done in requiring the Indian students to abstain from any political agitation whatever. Recently a circular had been issued by the Bombay Government in respect of students. It threw a heavy responsibility on the masters. The student's time was divided into two portions, one in the school and the other outside the school, and if the master was to be held responsible for acts which the student did outside the school, it was making the school-master into a spy. In conclusion, he urged upon the meeting the desirability of exercising their influence with the authorities in India to see that something was done which would inspire mutual confidence. (Applause.)

MR. PUNDIT BHUGWANDIN DUBE thought that the question with regard to Indian students was a very important one. He had been in touch with students for a long time, as he held a professorial post in India. One reason why there was an estrangement of feeling between the English students and the Indian students was that the Indian students asserted their equality with their fellow-English students; that was the cause of all the mischief. Unless they were willing to sympathize with the young men of India who asserted their equality, he thought all their attempts would be doomed to failure. Indian students now held all sorts of opinions on politics. He did not say their opinions were right, but the fact remained that they held them. The students at Oxford and Cambridge and at the various Inns of Court, when they talked about politics with Indian students, heard from them something which was distasteful. There were many Anglo-Indian gentlemen who looked upon Indian students as their sons; but the Indian student refused to be treated as a son. In view of the modern signs of the times, they would have to recognize the position of the Indian student. It seemed to him that any residential hostel in connection with the Inns of Court would be bound to be a failure. The only suggestion worthy of acceptance was the provision of a central place where they might meet together, but it would have to be provided at the expense of the Indians themselves. English ladies and gentlemen must understand the signs of the times, and be willing to treat Indians on terms of equality. With regard to the registration of families who would be willing to take Indian students as guests, he thought that was beside the point. He thought that anything done by any influential body here should be carried out in a manner which did not hurt the feelings of the Indians, and recognized their status of absolute equality with English students here. He thought that Indians should be treated

as they ought to be treated, not as mere fellow-subjects or fellow-students, but as gentlemen worthy of friendship. (Applause.)

MR. BEPIN CHANDRA PAL said that if they were really anxious to help the Indian students who came over to this country, the first thing that was necessary was real sympathy, not outward or condescending sympathy. His son was in this country, but he would not have let him come to England if he had not come over with him. He wanted to train him up in his own way. No man could be a leader of men unless he was a follower also. That was as true of politics as it was of intellectual and moral leadership. He was anxious for the mental and moral condition of young students in this country, and he had always persistently discouraged young Indians from coming over to this country. It had already been admitted, not only that it was not good for an immature youth to be thrown without guidance or control, without friends or family, into the temptations of a London or an English life, but there was something more than that. He did not think Indians, until they had been posted up in their own country and civilization, ought to come into the garish light of British and Western civilization. (Loud applause.) He wanted his countrymen to know that which was best in their own country first, and then go and see what was best in other countries. (Applause.)

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: Ladies and gentlemen, the reason of my asking you at this stage of our proceedings to tender a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Lamington is that he has to leave us now to keep another important engagement. (Loud applause.) The subject we have been considering has given rise to an interesting discussion, and Lord Lamington's kindness in presiding over this meeting is a further proof of the sympathy and interest in all that tends to the welfare of the people of India which he exhibited during his five years' remarkable rule over Bombay. (Cheers.) He earned wide and well-deserved popularity there, and it is gratifying to find that after leaving the shores of India he has continued to take a keen and active interest in her affairs. As he must leave us immediately, I shall without further words ask you to tender to his Lordship a hearty vote of thanks, which I propose with the greatest pleasure. (Cheers.)

The motion was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am greatly touched by the spontaneous reception which you have given to the kind words which have fallen from Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree. I think we have learnt a great deal this afternoon, and I should have liked to have heard very much the further remarks which will be made by other speakers. So far as the British official is concerned, I do not believe his sympathy is less than that of his forefathers, only there are other surrounding circumstances which tend to make it more difficult to bring classes together than it used to be. It has been a great pleasure to me to be here, and I am glad to have heard the various remarks, not only of those who have addressed the meeting, but the incidental remarks made by others. I am glad to get all the information possible on a subject of this character. I thank you very much for the way you have received the resolution. (Loud applause.)

His Lordship then requested Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree to take the chair, and the discussion continued with Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree in the chair.

MR. SHAPURJI SAKLATVALA thought that Indians should not denationalize themselves. The first object of the Indians should be to nationalize themselves, and to form themselves into active factors with national institutions, national politics, national art, national industry, and national literature. That was the object of education. They were face to face with competition from Englishmen in politics, in industry, in science, and in advancement. In everything the first half belonged to the Englishmen, and the last half belonged to the Indian. If they were to go back to their own country after being educated in England to fight against their competitors there, the most essential point was that they should not show their friends their cards, but they must keep strictly aloof. The essential principle for Indians educating themselves in England to bear in mind was that they should keep outside a three-mile limit from the Anglo-Indian from a business point of view. They would not make themselves strong enough to fight the battle against Englishmen in politics and science unless they did.

MR. GHATAK thought the Indian student problem was a most difficult one. Something would have to be done. It was necessary to take some steps to see that parents' money was well spent. He did not think that students should take part in politics. That would come later on. What was wanted was practical sympathy. He thought there should be a central place where Indians could go to on their arrival and get a list of suitable apartments. The first difficulty of an Indian student in this country was that when he got there he did not know where to go. Sometimes he had to go to the slums. What he suggested was that there should be a central body who would have a list of apartments, and, of course, these apartments must be thoroughly inspected. They must do nothing to depress the political inspirations of the Indian student. That would lead to revolution in India. He suggested that some rooms should be taken and a sort of club formed, where Indians might have meals and meet their friends there; but they must have funds, because some students were too poor to pay, and in that case the Indian Office must provide the rest of the money.

MR. COLDSTREAM, referring to the suggestion of Dr. Pollen as to the establishment of hostels in connection with the Inns of Court, said that the matter of a hostel for Indian students had been the subject of discussion in the rooms of the Imperial Institute four years ago, when the Indian students were invited to express their opinion with regard to their accommodation in England, and their feelings as to any points on which it could be bettered. One of the points upon which there was a consensus of opinion was that a hostel was not wished. If a student were confined to the four walls of a hostel that would curtail his freedom, and deprive him of opportunities of becoming acquainted with English life; although it was true that he might get within the hostel certain comforts, and accommodation with a certain environment of safety, which was undoubtedly desirable. While he doubted whether a permanent hostel would be a

success, he thought the idea of a *temporary* hostel for new arrivals stood on an entirely different footing. A hostel especially designed for Indian students on their arrival, where they could stay until they could make other arrangements, was, he thought, a real want. Young men might be received into such a hostel for a limited period, say a week or ten days, while they were seeking lodgings or making arrangements for residence. (Applause.) Such an institution, too, might yield experience which would enable us to judge whether a more permanent hostel was desirable.

The CHAIRMAN: I think the time has arrived when we should close our proceedings, but before we part I am sure you would all wish me to express our thanks to Dr. Pollen for his interesting lecture. (Cheers.) He has treated his subject—which required at the present juncture some courage to place before an audience such as he must have expected here—with his usual facility of expression; I might almost say, with his peculiar tact. His paper, and the ample and informing discussion which has followed thereupon, has afforded us an intellectual treat. (Cheers). Opinions on many points and from varied points of view have been expressed, with many of which I had not been unacquainted. In spite of differences on particular heads, I think it will carry common agreement if I were to say that the conclusion to which they point may be summed up in the small phrase, “better understanding.” I am sure a better understanding between Englishmen and the people of India would sweep away a great many differences, lead to the cultivation of pleasant relations, and promote respect for each other. (Cheers.) As an effective means to secure this end, I welcome the idea of a co-ordination of the principal societies which concern themselves with Indian affairs, and particularly with students, and their location in one centre. This is a scheme which I had long since advocated. I well remember the experience of my younger days, when Lord Northbrook, who was a sincere friend of India and Indian students, made it a point to bring them together with some of the best public men here in pleasant and profitable intercourse. (Cheers.) Since he passed away, those opportunities have been missed. I think the combination to which I have alluded will, under influential auspices and proper management, lead to a renewal of such opportunities; and if the intention of Lord Morley and the efforts of the Committee which he has appointed in the interests of students resulted in nothing more than the formation of such a central institute, they will have the satisfaction of finding that they had created an agency for the cultivation of the “better understanding.” (Cheers.) I must now ask you to tender a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Pollen for his very interesting lecture. The vote was carried with applause.

In returning thanks, the Lecturer dwelt on the necessity for gentlemanly and loyal behaviour in controversy and debate, and he recalled a saying of Colonel Trevor (formerly Collector of Hyderabad, brother of Sir Arthur Trevor, and the ablest of a very able family), who often declared that much of the secret of success in Indian Administration lay in a gentlemanly attitude. Colonel Trevor used to say: “H—g it all, whatever we do let us be gentlemen!” and Dr. Pollen commended this advice of an old and experienced officer to the youthful portion of his audience.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA
ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, December 1, 1908, Sir Arundel Tagg Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair, a paper was read by Charles William McMinn, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), on "The Wealth and Progress of India: Facts and Fictions." The following, among others, were present: Sir James and Lady Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Curzon Wyllie, K.C.I.E., Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Sir Thomas William Holderness, K.C.S.I., Sir George Watt, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Theodore Morison, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel Kilgour, Mr. F. H. Brown, Major Rougemont, Mr. N. S. McMinn, Mrs. McMinn, Mr. Godfrey Gumpel, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Miss Beck, Monsieur Privat, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. G. H. Tattersfield, Mr. B. L. Atto, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. C. H. Kantawala, Mr. H. Savage, Miss Mabel Taylor, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. A. M. Morolyar, Mr. K. N. Rai, Miss McLaren, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. K. Chowdry, Mr. R. G. Orr, Mr. S. G. Velinkar, Dr. Bhabba, Mr. A. A. Husanally, I.C.S., Mr. M. R. Saggan, Mr. S. A. Majid, Mr. W. Foster, Mr. H. R. Cook, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Before Sir Arundel T. Arundel took the chair, the Hon. Secretary announced that the Council desired to draw prominent attention to the first rule of the Association, providing that debates should be conducted in a loyal and temperate spirit. Council especially disapproved of dissent or disapprobation being conveyed in a sibilant form at meetings of the Association.

The paper was then read.

In opening the discussion, the CHAIRMAN thought Mr. McMinn had certainly maintained his first position, and had endeavoured "not only to tell the truth, but to relate the whole truth, even when it will be quoted to the discredit of England and to disparage her efforts for the benefit of India." He was also glad to hear Mr. McMinn say that he was "ravenous to detect errors in Government statistics," because they were very often extremely defective, and occasionally very absurd. On one occasion in his own district he had to make a perfectly wild calculation as to the number of pounds avoirdupois of carpentry that had been done in the whole district during the year. He thought Mr. McMinn had been able to lay his hands upon a number of unknown sources of statistical information which were of the very greatest value, and he hoped he would be able to carry out his intention, and publish a book that would have a very considerable effect in bringing before the public of India and of England the actual facts in relation to the progress of India. He had been struck by the information given on the subject of bullion, stores, public contractors, tea, opium, etc., all of which was entirely new to him. With regard to the question of the drain on India, on which so much of the paper

had a bearing, it might be interesting to see how the matter occurred to men who had spent a great many years in India amongst the people. Such men had not been persuaded that India had made no progress, or that the Indian people were deteriorating, or that poverty was increasing, simply because of any comparison between the total exports and the total imports of the country. What they really considered was what they themselves had seen over a series of years. He had jotted down some ten different items, all of which, except the last two, certainly were within the cognisance of everybody who had been in touch with the people. First of all, the clothes of the people were better and more abundant; the earthen pots in the cottages of the people were giving way to brass utensils; the thatched huts gradually began to be replaced by tiled cottages and terraced houses; the jewellery worn by the women and children was increasing both in number and value, even the women coolies often having little silver ornaments upon their arms and ankles, and, perhaps, a small jewel for the nose or ear. He was speaking more especially of Southern India, with which he was best acquainted. Then, again, if the monsoon failed, distress did not follow so rapidly as it did in the earlier days. Large sums of money were spent upon the repair, improvement, and extension of many of the temples. In every district of Southern India there were now a large number of pleaders who drew ample incomes from the agricultural and trading population amongst whom they lived. The population of India now travelled in millions per annum, paying their railway fares, over the 30,000 miles of railway already built. Also the amount held by India of the rupee debt had been enormously increased, and the deposits in savings banks were now reckoned by millions per annum. Those were facts within the knowledge of all who had worked among the Indian people, and told their own tale.

The author stated that he did not think anyone had ever denied the proposition "that while India had been in the last century becoming richer and richer, yet during the last thirty years the supply of food-grain had become smaller compared to the demand of a population increasing in numbers and in secondary wants." He had never been in the position of affirming or denying that proposition, because he had never heard it put in that way. But he would remark that in the old days there were neither railways nor roads to carry the surplus of a favoured part of India to another part in distress, and the consequence was that such surplus, so far as the relief of famine at a distance was concerned, might really have been non-existent. To-day there were 30,000 miles of railways, and there was no difficulty in bringing the surplus from one part of India to another. In Southern India in the old days large tracts now under cultivation were then forests and jungle infested by robbers and wild beasts. Finally, he noticed that the exports of wheat alone, largely grown on the 15 or 17 million acres which were under perennial irrigation, in 1905-1906 amounted to over 5½ million sterling. It was perfectly clear that if it paid the Indian trader better to sell his wheat in India he would not export it to England and elsewhere. Amongst the items of what Mr. McMinn referred to as "perhaps unnecessary" luxuries was kerosene oil. He could remember

perfectly well when kerosene oil was first introduced up-country, and for a long time it competed with vegetable oils. Vegetable oils finally gave way, because kerosene oil gave a better light, and was very much cheaper, and people found it to their interest to sell their vegetable oils and buy kerosene oil for themselves. He hoped in the book Mr. McMinn was going to bring out he would be "absolutely ravenous" to correct any possible errors, because, if he did not, critics who found a single mistake would lay infinitely more stress on that mistake than on a hundred statements of interesting fact.

MR. S. K. RATCLIFFE said he had had the pleasure many times in India of publishing Mr. McMinn's letters, and of publishing his articles, and had always noticed one quality about his writings: he always forced one back upon the facts and challenged one to look into his statements, his figures, and his views, and to justify one's own views if they were contrary to those he held. A large portion of the material in the paper, he thought, would be absolutely fresh to most people, and nothing was more difficult or more futile than in a public discussion to argue on questions of controversial statistics. He himself should like to examine every one of the statements, and in particular those where Mr. McMinn put his own figure against those figures that had gone the round of newspapers and books during the last ten or twenty years, and as far as opportunities admitted he proposed to do that within the next few weeks. There were one or two points, however, that it might be worth while to say a word upon. There was the extremely interesting question touched upon by the Chairman in his speech as to the relation between the obvious resources of the people, and the basic question as to whether they were or were not relatively poorer or richer than they were a few generations ago. That was the real question upon the answer to which Great Britain would finally have to justify her rule in India in the eyes of the world, and it was a question upon which the official returns did very little to enable a satisfactory answer to be given. Mr. McMinn had found gigantic mistakes in the official records, by far the largest being the one found in the official returns of a few decades ago. One or two of the points raised by the Chairman in the list he quoted were well worthy of further inquiry, and Mr. McMinn's figures were essentially matters for further inquiry, unbiassed inquiry, free from the statistical temper of the Cobden Club on the one hand or of the Tariff Reform League on the other. They required the absolutely impartial, colourless statistical temper of such an institution as the Sociological Society. The statement that the people did not now succumb as rapidly as formerly when the monsoon failed was one which the official statisticians ought to help in answering. It was usually said that the recurring famines in India were rather poverty famines than famines of grain, and that as the result of the decreasing purchasing power of the people, the power of resistance amongst the people was decreasing year by year. That was the question to be answered, and his own feeling was that although the points put forward by the Chairman and by Mr. McMinn helped to a certain extent, they did not cover the whole ground. Information was wanted, not only as to how much greater the amount of material wealth had become,

but as to what particular classes held that wealth. He had always regretted that the extremely influential memorial of the Indian Famine Union was not acted upon by the Government of India and the Imperial Government, and that something in the nature of an extensive sociological and economical inquiry was not carried on over a large typical tract in order that material might be furnished on the lines of Mr. Theodore Morrison's researches in relation to the North-West Provinces, upon which the controversial statements could be tested. The point seemed to be somewhat interesting with regard to the question of money in the savings bank. The information wanted was as to what classes of the people in India were represented by the savings, and not exactly the figures in rupees of the official reports. The point that struck him as least satisfactory in the paper was that with regard to drink. It was a very controversial matter, and, unless he was very much mistaken, the official reports were very much against Mr. McMinn on that head. If Mr. Buckland would say a word or two on that point he might throw a good deal of light upon the subject from the standpoint of Bengal. As had been pointed out by Sir Frederick Lely and others, there was a very great and serious charge against the system of Excise, and a large body of evidence would be required before Mr. McMinn's conclusions could be accepted. With regard to Mr. McMinn's statement in connection with the textile industries, in such a connection it was necessary to take into account a great deal more than the actual figures of production given in reports. In an Oriental country particularly, the fundamental point was not the economic figure, but the facts with regard to the conditions under which the people worked. One had to take into account that with the spread of mechanical industry in England there was not only a great increase in the amount of wealth amongst the people, but an enormous increase in the class of people living on or below the line of subsistence. That was obviously a very serious question, because, however much one might regard the abstract question of progress, one had to admit that whereas a hundred years ago many millions of people were living in England in direct contact with the land, and under conditions which enabled them to live a really civilized life, to-day, largely owing to mechanical industry, the number of people who lived in unspeakably horrible conditions had very greatly increased. Applying that to India, although there were many thousands of people earning far better wages than they ever did before, yet there were more and more of those people being carried from the land and their ancestral social and religious conditions into another and different kind of life. It was well known from the recent Factory Report that some of the conditions connected with factory industries were absolutely indescribable, although he was glad to say that the worst employers were not Europeans. It was not sufficient with regard to all those thousands of labourers who were now entering into a different field of labour to say that they were earning more money and the total wealth was greater; it had to be remembered that they were being taken away from their old autochthonous conditions of life and placed in a new environment altogether, and a new social and economic problem was being created with which future administrators would have to

deal. His own experience in Bengal tended to a belief that there was an increasing difficulty in the struggle for existence. All those things had to be taken into account in addition to Mr. McMinn's happy optimism in regard to what British administration was doing in India. He did not yield even to Mr. McMinn in acknowledging the debt which India owed to Great Britain's administration, but he thought there was a necessity to qualify Mr. McMinn's optimism by some statement of the appalling poverty and difficulty of life amongst the great Indian people.

MR. C. E. BUCKLAND said that he had no idea of speaking when he entered the room, but having been appealed to by Mr. Ratcliffe to say something about Excise in Bengal, he had no hesitation in saying what he knew. The story of the Excise in Bengal was rather a long one, and to deal adequately with the subject it would be necessary to be prepared with its recent history. Many things of which he was not well aware had happened since he, some years ago, left the country, but he had had a great deal to do with Excise matters in the last twenty or thirty years of his service. There were many imputations made against the official administration of the Excise Department, especially the imputation that the Department did a great deal to encourage drunkenness. The Department strongly resented that charge; they claimed that by a better system of administration a great deal of liquor was taxed that had hitherto escaped taxation, and a considerable revenue obtained that had been previously lost. The number of shops was reduced, and the remaining shops, by a system of auction, fetched better prices, with the result that the price of liquor was increased. In the case of intoxicating drugs the rates of duty were deliberately increased, so that the people had to pay more for their opium and ganja, and got less for their money. In fact, the Department did all it possibly could to put down illicit distillation, to raise the price of liquor and intoxicating drugs, and to make it more difficult for the people to obtain them; at the same time they increased the revenue, though the latter was not the object, but it was a satisfactory incident, as showing the success of their measures. When in charge of an Excise Bill in the Legislative Council of Bengal a few years ago he had to meet the challenge of the Temperance party in Calcutta, who ran a tilt against the whole system of administration. The Calcutta Temperance people in those days, he thought, rather overdid it, just as the Temperance people in England had so much overdone their advocacy of the Licensing Bill. If the Temperance people had been more moderate in their demands, they would have found the officials more than willing to meet them half-way. There was no official who wanted to encourage drunkenness, or who would not have put it down if possible, even though the revenue had suffered. The only possible course was to increase the price of excisable articles. When it was alleged that the revenue from Excise had gone up enormously, it ought to be remembered that the increase had been brought about by better administration, and that every attempt was made by the officials to put down inebriety as much as possible.

SIR RAYMOND WEST said that, as a member of the Bombay Government, he had at one time to deal with the question of the liquor traffic. It was

suggested to the Government of Bombay over and over again that this, that, and the other method of dealing with abkari would be more productive of revenue than the method actually adopted. It was quite clear to the Government that if certain methods were adopted the revenue might be considerably increased, but at the same time increasing the amount of liquor consumed; but the Government steadily refused to accept that as a principle. He himself wrote a pretty long Minute on the subject on one occasion to the effect that the object was, if possible, to keep down the drinking. The difficulty met with in Bombay was that the Presidency had a greater number of palm-trees, and it was very easy from the palm-juice to produce alcohol which, if taken fresh, was most pernicious—more pernicious than alcohol distilled in the ordinary manner. Therefore to make liquor distilled in the ordinary manner very expensive would be a method of promoting illicit distillation and drunkenness in its worst form. That was an obstacle to carrying out an abstract theory. The plan adopted was to put a high duty on distillation, to charge a high price for the liquor shops, and restrict the number of them so far as possible, and then test by reports every year how the thing was working, and, if any considerable increase of drunkenness was found, to make that the ground for some revision of the system. That was practically done, and the basis of the liquor administration of the Bombay Presidency was now to judge from time to time what method could be pursued of raising revenue in combination with the method of keeping down drunkenness as much as possible, having due regard to the conditions of the country and the necessity of not interfering more than was imperative with the habits and manners of the people. It was impossible to institute a search in every house to see whether palm-juice was undergoing the process of fermentation, or carry the interference in private life to the extent of discovering the amount of mhowra flowers used for distillation without putting a power of tyranny into the hands of the police which was sure to be abused. The Government, therefore, was met in its desire to repress drunkenness by this material obstacle, and it was no use saying that that obstacle could be overcome, because in endeavouring to make arrangements to prevent intoxication, there was always the possibility of encouraging it. A balance had to be struck. On one occasion he had to spend some months in the investigation of the Land Revenues under Tippoo and his predecessors, and had to go through 3,500 documents relating to the Land Revenue, mostly in the Canarese language, in a great Canara land case. He thus became familiar with the amount drawn from the ryots by the native rulers and their subordinates, and found that the average was about 65 per cent. of the gross profits of the fields. But that was not the burden the ryot had to bear; 64 or 65 per cent. was drawn, but the authorities and chief men of each village managed in many instances so to arrange the distribution of that revenue that they themselves paid about 10 to 20 per cent., and the unhappy ryot paid 80 or 85 per cent., of the gross produce. In fact, he paid all that it was possible to screw out of him, and that was the real reason why it was so hard to get cultivators to take up land under native administrations. A good test of whether the social and economical

conditions of the Indian people had improved or not in the last fifty years was the wages that had to be paid to servants and to recruits for the army. There was no doubt that throughout the greater part of India one had to pay at least double what was paid formerly for a domestic servant of equal capacity, and at least three times for a cart to carry baggage. If people were not getting more for their services, if their economic condition was not better than it used to be, why should they be in a position to charge twice or three times as much as they formerly charged for their services? That was an argument that should not be lost sight of. With regard to Mr. Ratcliffe's argument that the matter should be regarded from every point of view, and not merely from its statistical basis, he wished to point out that the object of Mr. McMinn's paper was to meet the statistical argument that had been urged against him, the opposite view taken by people who professed to rest on statistics. As the great mass of India was still agricultural, if it was found that the people in the agricultural districts obtained more for their produce and could buy more with the money, they must be better off. The fact that a great many people were on the edge of want was a serious thing, but it was a matter of how far that was within the control of the Government. If people married and enlarged the population beyond the means of ready subsistence, that was not a matter with which Government, in its present recognized functions, could interfere. It was only by creating new wants or raising the standard of wants amongst the people that the population could be kept within the limits and the means that would enable them, in case of necessity, to continue without starving. The improvement of the capacities and needs of the people in ordinary years allowed them better to endure famine in the times of drought. If the general economic position of the 75 per cent. of people who were engaged in agriculture was improved, that was a sufficient justification in general for the policy that had been pursued by the British Government, and the results were upon the whole satisfactory.

MR. DONALD REID said he had been an indigo planter in Bengal, and had, more than thirty years ago, protested against the use of mahua (or mhowra) for the manufacture of liquor in Government distilleries. He maintained that mahua (mhowra) was an excellent fattening food, good for the poor, and also for cattle. The poorer classes in India formerly used it largely as food when it was cheap and easily procured. But the use of it for distillation purposes had rendered it scarce and dear. It should be utilized by the natives as food, and the surplus should be exported to Europe, where it could be utilized as a fattening food for cattle, etc. It could be largely used in fattening pigs. Mr. Reid regretted that the farmers of England were not as intelligent and practical as their German competitors in the matter of pig-keeping. During the twenty-four years ending 1897, the increase in the number of pigs in Great Britain was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., whereas in Germany the number of pigs rose from 7,000,000 to 14,000,000—that is, an increase of about 100 per cent. in the same space of time. He attributed the deterioration of the hill tribes to the consumption of unwholesome liquor, and said they died off like flies when they left their homes to work in malarious, submontane districts.

In conclusion, quoting from Prinsep's "Record of Services of Madras Civilians," he pointed out that many civilians of the old type, like Alexander McLeod of Harris, James Balfour of Whittingham, and Sir John McPherson McLeod of Glendale, owed their magnificent private estates to their Indian career.

MR. McMINN, in reply, said, the hour being late, he would not detain the meeting except to make one remark with regard to his statistics, which, as had been said by one speaker, in many instances contradicted those put forward by other authorities. That was a mistake; both those authorities and himself quoted from the same source, only he quoted correctly, and the others quoted wrongly. That was not a matter of assertion. One most important point he had brought out in connection with the manufactures was with reference to a statement made on p. 294 of the "Economic History of British India," that Indian cotton-wool was charged 20 per cent., sugar 3 guineas per hundredweight, taffetas 30 per cent., and mats 20 per cent. Customs duty in England. The authority quoted was the 1832 Commons Committee Report, Appendix No. 5, and that Report, which he had in his hand, absolutely contradicted every one of those four statements. For instance, instead of 20 per cent. on cotton, it was 4d. per hundredweight—about 1 per. cent. There were two columns in the book, one showing the duty imposed on foreign articles, and the other the preferential duty given to British possessions, and Mr. Dutt had quoted the larger of the two, thus changing a light preferential duty into an "unjust and enormous" one.

On motion from the Chair, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. McMinn for his paper; and a vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Sir Charles Stevens, concluded the meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION.*

Proclamation by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

* See the King's Message under "Summary of Events" in this number.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our

subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows :

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as

leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

The formal announcement of the above Proclamation was made at Delhi, 1st January, 1877.

AN INDIAN ALBUM.—By H. BEVERIDGE.*

SINCE writing the above article, I have found that John Cleland's letter to Mr. Everard was published by Major Davy in the preface to his translation of Timur's "Institutes" (see p. xxv).

I have also found in Sir William Jones's works, under the

* See article in the October issue, 1908, pp. 327-334.

head of his "Description of Asia," the following remarks on the Indian Album :

"There is a curious book at Oxford, which was presented to the University by Mr. Pope, and contains the pictures of all the kings who reigned in India, from the most early times to the age of Timur."

It will be seen that Sir William's description of the Album is not quite adequate, for the portraits in it go down to Aurangzeb.

H. B.

MOTOR FIRE-ENGINE FOR ALLAHABAD.

The fire-extinguishing plant at Allahabad has been strengthened by the addition of a powerful self-propelled steam fire-engine, which has been received from England. It is of Merryweather's "Fire King" pattern, and can travel along the road at a speed of twenty to thirty miles an hour on the level, whilst the pumps deliver 300 gallons per minute. The engine's equipment also includes 2,000 feet of "Double Substance" canvas delivery hose, in addition to the usual working accessories. By means of a petroleum heater the water in the boiler will be kept at a low steam pressure, enabling the engine to turn out in about a minute from receipt of an alarm. Allahabad is the second town in India to adopt a motor "Fire King," Lucknow having had one in service for over a year.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CLARENDON PRESS ; OXFORD.

1. *The Oxford Students' History of India*, by VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (retired), author of "The Early History of India," etc. This handy little book is designed primarily to meet the wants of students preparing for the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University, as defined in the latest Syllabus. Every topic mentioned in the Syllabus is dealt with, and can be traced with facility by the table of contents and the minute index. In the appendix is an exact copy of Queen Victoria's proclamation, which is of great value as a document of reference in connection with the recent message of the King,* and relative discussions. Also in the appendix will be found the University Syllabus and maps, and other illustrations which will be of great help not only to the University student, but also to the general reader who desires to study the full history of India.

THE CHINA INLAND MISSION ; NEWINGTON GREEN—
MILDMAY, LONDON, N.

2. *Atlas of the Chinese Empire*, containing separate Maps of the Eighteen Provinces of China Proper, and of the Four Great Dependencies. Specially prepared by Mr. EDWARD STANFORD for the China Inland Mission. This beautiful atlas is an entirely new work, based on the latest surveys by eminent officials of various countries. The outlines of the provinces and dependencies are distinct, and all telegraph stations, Protestant missionary stations, railways, treaty ports, and each city's rank are clearly indicated by separate marks and type, and at the end of the atlas there is a complete index, with latitude and longitude of every place given in the maps. The publication reflects the greatest credit on the compilers and Mr. Stanford, and will be heartily welcomed by everyone interested in this

* See text of this message under "Summary of Events."

great and ancient empire. To the general reader it will conduce vastly to a keener and wider knowledge of the country, its untold capabilities, and its remarkable characteristics and history. To the missionary it is invaluable.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. ; LONDON.

3. *Nadir Shah*, by SIR MORTIMER DURAND. This book, which can boast of very interesting illustrations, is difficult to review, as it is neither pure history nor openly a historical novel; but, as the author styles it, a "romance," the purpose of which is an attempt to make the life and times of Nadir Shah "more familiar than they are" to English readers. Needless to say, the author has done so, and is thus to be congratulated, but we confess that we wish he had given us a history instead. There is always an uneasy feeling in reading a book of this kind. "Is this part history, or is it romance?" and even the author sometimes could not answer. The book commences when Nadir—the Turkoman chief and self-made Shah of Persia—is attacking the Mogul Empire, and meeting one of the new slave-girls—Sitara, a Rajputni captive—falls in love with her. It is his love for her, her fidelity until his murder, and the jealousy of his other wife—the Shirazi—which form the chief motives of the story. The Rajput girl is admirably drawn, and there is a fine description of the conqueror's march into Delhi and the tumults that followed it. Full justice is done in the book to the power of Nadir, and to his cruelty, which culminated in the blinding of his son. Great knowledge is shown of Persian manners and customs, and the book will find many readers who do not mind its informal form.—F. S.

DAVID DOUGLAS ; EDINBURGH.

4. *Thirty-five Years in the Punjab, 1858-1893*, by C. R. ELSMIE, C.S.I., LL.D. An account of the career and experiences of the last Haileybury Civilian who served in the

Punjab, and served for so long a period, cannot fail to be interesting to Anglo-Indians, and we are therefore grateful to the writer for giving this account of his life, based as it is on his own diary and his "letters home." The author went from Aberdeen to Haileybury in 1855, and in 1858 set sail for India, becoming in that year Assistant-Commissioner at Loodiana. In 1861 he was made Assistant-Commissioner of Lahore and Murree; two years later Judge in the Small Debt Court of Lahore; then Deputy-Commissioner at Jullunder (and so saw something of Sir John Lawrence and Bishop Milman), and then, after a period of furlough in which he was called to the English Bar, was again at work as Additional Commissioner, first of Amritsar and Jullunder until 1872, and then of Peshawur until 1877, when he became Civil and Sessions Judge. In this capacity he knew much of the Afghan murder trials, and gives some curious details of one where the murdered man had, before death, identified "twelve members of a band of murderers," in an appendix. In 1878 he became Acting Judge of the Chief Court in 1881, Commissioner of the old, and then, with an interval as Judge of the Chief Court, of the new Lahore Division, and, finally, Financial Commissioner and member of the Legislative Council. Diaries and letters kept for so long a period abound with names which are now historical—and in this book the names and the writers' strictures on them are perhaps of greater interest than the events he writes about—and his account of the officials who have preceded them must give great pleasure to the present Civilians in the Punjab who desire to know about the times of Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir C. E. Bernard, and Sir T. Douglas Forsyth.—F. S.

GOVERNMENT PRESS; MADRAS.

5. *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.* Translated by SIR J. FREDERICK PRICE, K.C.S.I., assisted by K. RANGACHARI, B.A. This second portion of the journal of the Dubash to Dupleix, when he was Governor of

Pondichery, is a welcome addition to the history of French India. It commences in April and ends in October, 1746, so that the large volume embraces not a whole year. Perhaps the most interesting parts of the book are the notices of Europeans. The rivalries of Dupleix and de la Bourdonnais are recounted, and we have many notices of the bribe-loving Madame Dupleix and her covenanting for money; her mother, Madame Albert, and her methods of business. Some curious touches are thus given. The capture of Madras and the native comments thereon are worth noting, as well as a native account of the political situation in Europe in the writer's time.—F. S.

HARRISON AND SONS; ST. MARTIN'S LANE,
LONDON.

6. *Hertslet's China Treaties. Treaties, etc., between Great Britain and China, and between China and Foreign Powers; and Orders in Council, Rules, Regulations, Acts of Parliament, Decrees, etc., affecting British Interests in China, in Force on January 1, 1908*; third edition, revised under the superintendence of the Librarian of the Foreign Office by GODFREY E. P. HERTSLET, with the assistance of EDWARD PARKES. 1908. Two vols. "The publication of the treaties, etc., and other engagements (contained in these two handsome volumes) under which the trade and relations of foreign countries with China are conducted, has been undertaken by special request in order to meet a requirement long felt, but which is more particularly needed at the present time." "With the view to making the work as complete as possible, some few treaties which have been replaced by later ones have been inserted by request, and some of the earlier Russian treaties are also given as having an historical interest." There is an excellent map showing the boundaries, etc., between China and the adjacent countries, and the Chinese ports and places open to trade are underlined in red ink. The index attached to the second volume is alphabetically

arranged, so that there can be no difficulty in finding any treaty, or any subject embraced in those treaties, and the other documents contained in the volumes. The whole compilation is admirably arranged, and does great credit both to the compilers and printers.

HINDU PATRIOT PRESS ; CALCUTTA.

7. *A Brief History of India, for Students*, by SRISH CHANDRA SARBADICÁRI. It is the fashion nowadays to say that the English did not conquer India, and Dr. Pollen explains this idea by saying that they "won" it. I am not sure that I quite understand the distinction, but let us consider the facts as recently summarized in this handy little volume by a very competent Hindu, whose family has not only been honourably connected with the Government of Bengal for many generations, but who is himself an honorary magistrate and editor of a leading Calcutta Daily.

As a patriotic Hindu he very justifiably makes the most of the distinguished sovereigns who ruled over a great part of Northern India in what may fairly be described as the "golden age" of Hindustan before the Mahomedans began their inroads ; and everyone must admit that from the time of the Vedas when, as he says, the caste system was unknown, right through the ages purified by the noble teaching and splendid example of the great reformer Buddha, whose unhappy fate it has been to become the object of superstitious worship amongst the bulk of his followers, the state of civilization in India was of a very high order.

Such foreign testimony as we have is unanimous to that effect in the time of such monarchs as Chandragupta, Asoka, and others right up to the time of the first Mahomedan invasion ; but, after that, all was fighting and confusion until Akbar consolidated his empire over all the Hindu kingdoms of the North at the time when our Elizabeth and her great Admirals were laying the foundations of the British Empire. For nearly 200 years the

Mahomedans ruled over the greater part of India almost without a rival, though not without much fighting and serious insurrections on the part of the Mahrattas under their celebrated leader Sivaji and the Sikhs. It was during this time; when the Mogul Empire was already showing signs of decay, that Sir Thomas Roe came as a sort of Ambassador from James I., and not long after his arrival that Madras was founded and the English began to be a power in the South, thus, (gradually and almost involuntarily,) stepping into the shoes of the Mahomedans who had actually in the course of about 1,000 years conquered almost the whole of modern India. It seems, then, that, though we may not have actually conquered India ourselves, we have taken the place of the only people who really (however imperfectly) did conquer it, and may be said, therefore, to have taken over the heavy burden of Empire from them. Literally this transfer was only finally completed in 1858, when the Queen of England formally took over the government, becoming Empress so recently as 1877. These fifty years have been years of consolidation; and, on the whole, as the *Times* said, we have nothing much to be ashamed of; but that is not to say we have made no mistakes—only that our intentions have been good, and, on the whole, fairly well carried out.

If, then, there is a tendency anywhere to favour Mahomedans at the expense of Hindus, (which I don't admit), it would not be so very surprising.

I see Mr. Lajpat Rai, in his very candid conversation with the irrepressible Mr. Stead, says he would give "the people of India"—*three-fourths of them being Hindus*—"the right of effective control over all the officials and administrators of their respective Provinces and of India," including, of course, all the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, etc., who are all to be "liable to censure and removal by the representatives of the people"; and, when asked if that rule would extend to the army, he replied, "Not necessarily," and that, as Viceroy, he would "keep

the control of the army in his own hands until the Imperial Parliament granted constitutional government to India on colonial lines." Well might Mr. Stead say that the real object was to dig the grave of the British Government in India; and Mr. Lájpat Rai did not deny the soft impeachment, but would only express it differently. What may happen in the course of time is impossible to guess, but such a scheme *at the present time* seems utterly impracticable.

People who have been in subjection for hundreds of years cannot reasonably expect to be put in authority over their "conquerors" without a good deal more fusion and a good deal less racial antagonism than exist at present in India. There is, as Mr. Balfour says, a limit beyond which it is dangerous to exasperate the European who has been so long accustomed to rule in India, and it is impossible to imagine the English (or even the Indian) army submitting to the rule of a Government which would largely consist of Bengalies.* The history of the Ilbert Bill ought to teach us better than that. All that seems feasible at present is to give qualified Indians a greater share in the present government of India. There is even now no "monopoly of the British in the Civil and other Services," as Mr. Lájpat Rai rather absurdly said, nor is there any reason at all why Indians should not obtain about half the appointments in the Civil Service as it is, except that it would probably be impossible to govern India at all without a larger proportion of Europeans.—J. P.

JOHN LONG; LONDON.

8. *Glimpses of the Ages*, by THEOPHILUS E. SAMUEL SCHOLÉS, M.D. Vol. ii. It is not difficult to see that the writer of this curiously constructed work is trying to bring the indictment that the white ruling races have in few cases done their duty by any of the "coloured" races, whether

* It might even yet be easier to subdue the Bengalies than the Anglo-Indians!

black, white, or brown, whom he holds to be by no means their inferiors. He cites many instances of this in China, in India, and in Africa. He scores a point or two in some instances, but the book is so intemperately written that one cannot help seeing easily the arguments that can be used for the defence, and this one-sided view ruins the cause for which the writer pleads, and places him among the large class of book-compiling fanatics.—F. S.

LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
LONDON, W.C.

9. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia: A Contribution to the History of Muslim Philosophy*, by SHAIKH MUHAMMAD IQBAL, B.A. (Cantab.), PH.D. (Munich) 1908. The writer, in his introductory pages, states "that the most remarkable feature of the character of the Persian people is their love of metaphysical speculation"; that "the history of Persian thought presents a phenomenon peculiar to itself. In Persia, due, perhaps, to Semitic influences, philosophical speculation has indissolubly associated itself with religion, and thinkers on new lines of thought have almost always been founders of new religious movements. After the Arab conquest, however, we see pure philosophy severed from religion by the Neo-Platonic Aristotelians of Islam, but the severance was only a transient phenomenon. Greek philosophy, though an exotic plant in the soil of Persia, eventually became an integral part of Persian thought." The author divides his survey into two parts: Part I., *Pre-Islamic Persian Philosophy*—Chapter I., Persian Dualism: Section 1, Zoroaster; Section 2, Mānī and Mazdak; Section 3, Retrospect. Part II., *Greek Dualism*—Chapter II., Neo-Platonic Aristotelians of Persia: Section 1, Ibn Maskawaih; Section 2, Avicenna. Chapter III., Islamic Rationalism: Section 1, Metaphysics of Rationalism; Section 2, Contemporary Movements of Thought; Section 3, Reaction against Rationalism (the Ash'arite).

Chapter IV, Controversy between Realism and Idealism; Chapter V, Sūfiism : Section 1, The Origin and Quranic Justification of Sūfiism ; Section 2, Aspects of Sūfī Metaphysics. Chapter VI, Later Persian Thought. In conclusion, he says : " Pure speculation and dreamy mysticism undergo a powerful check in Bābism, which, unmindful of persecution, synthesises all the inherited philosophical and religious tendencies, and rouses the spirit to a consciousness of the stern reality of things. Though extremely cosmopolitan, and hence quite unpatriotic in character, it has yet had a great influence over the Persian mind. The unmystic character and the practical tone of Bābism may have been a remote cause of the progress of recent political reform in Persia." The author's survey is written in a clear and concise style, and for his various statements in detail we must refer the reader to the work itself.

JOHN MURRAY ; LONDON.

10. *The Military Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, G.C.B., K.H., Colonel 16th Lancers.* Arranged from diaries and correspondence by COLONEL H. C. WYLLY, C.B., author of "The Campaign of Magenta and Solferino." This belated biography reminds old soldiers of a prominent personality in the army in the days when they themselves were still called by the time-honoured titles of Ensigns and Cornets. Sir Joseph Thackwell's portrait graced the pages of the *Illustrated London News* sixty years ago as a hero of the Second Sikh War, in which he commanded the Cavalry Division at the Battles of Chilianwala and Gujerat, and the mixed force of all arms which fought the action at Sadulapore.

He was born in 1781, and at the age of seventeen was given a Cornet's Commission in the Worcestershire Regiment of Provisional Cavalry by the Lord-Lieutenant of the County. This was a corps of the heterogeneous army of Fencibles, Militia, and Yeomanry raised in the United

Kingdom in the last decade of the eighteenth century to guard against a threatened French invasion and the danger of insurrection in Ireland. When this latter had passed away, in 1800, the regiment was disbanded, and young Thackwell purchased a Cornetcy in the 15th Light Dragoons. The Peace of Amiens placed him on half-pay, and the renewal of the war a year later restored him to his place in the regiment, which was one of the first corps of the British Army to be converted into Hussars. It was employed in the streets of London in suppressing the Burdett riots, and the unfamiliar uniforms and moustaches of its men made the London mob mistake it for a corps of German mercenaries engaged by an arbitrary Government to suppress the liberties of Englishmen. The regiment was distinguished by a scarlet shako, which it continued to wear until the change of uniform in 1854.

It was still more distinguished by its gallant conduct in the field at the affair of Sahagun, when serving with Sir John Moore's army in the Peninsula. After the Battle of Corunna it returned to England, and four years later embarked again for Portugal to join Lord Wellington's Army, in which it was brigaded with the 7th and 18th regiments in the Hussar Brigade. It took part in the Battle of Vittoria, the invasion of France, and the successful campaign which closed with the capture of Toulouse. The narrative of these operations serves to swell the bulk of the biography, though Thackwell's part in them as a Captain of Hussars was necessarily insignificant.

After the peace the regiment marched through the whole length of France to Boulogne, where it embarked for England. The return of Napoleon from Elba summoned the 15th Hussars again to the Continent: at Waterloo all the field officers of the regiment were killed or wounded, and the command devolved upon Captain Thackwell, who led the Hussars in the final charge upon the last square of the Grenadiers of the Old Guard, in which his left arm was shattered by a musket-ball, and had to be amputated. He

had previously had two horses shot under him, and lay where he fell all night upon the field, and was only found by the search parties in the morning. He continued to serve in spite of the loss of his arm, and rose to the command of his regiment, which was for some years chiefly employed in quelling riots at Nottingham and other places, the discontent of the working classes and the distress of the unemployed having risen to a high pitch in those palmy days of Protection to which so many of our countrymen are anxious to return. After an interval on half-pay he determined to proceed to India, as Europe offered no further field for military adventure, and effected an exchange into the 3rd Light Dragoons under orders for Bengal.

The regiment was embarked in four East Indiamen, which took from five to six months on the voyage from London to Calcutta, whence the regiment marched on foot to Cawnpore, where it took over the horses of the 11th Light Dragoons, which regiment had already left for home. Not long after, Colonel Thackwell was promoted to Major-General in India, in pursuance of Sir Henry Fane's policy of securing commands for Queen's officers by giving them superior rank to those of the Company's service. He was soon after given command of the Cavalry Division of the army of the Indus entrusted with the task of forcing a detested Sovereign upon a reluctant people. The army mustered 10,000 fighting men, and 40,000 camp-followers, and its baggage was carried by 30,000 camels. Madras and Bombay officers observed with envy and sarcasm the luxurious camps of their brethren-in-arms on the Bengal establishment: Lieutenant (afterwards famous as Sir Henry) Havelock confessed to having taken the field with eighteen servants, while it is said that another officer had as many as forty!

It is impossible for us within the limits of our space to follow General Thackwell's career in detail; on the return march through the Khyber he and his comrades were royally entertained by the notorious adventurer, Avitabili,

a Neapolitan, who had learned the art of war under Joachim Murat, and who was equally renowned for his hospitality and his cruelty.

General Thackwell had left Afghanistan long before the disastrous retreat from Kabul occurred, but a tolerably consecutive narrative of those unfortunate events is contained in his diaries, in entries made from time to time, as news of the successive disasters reached India. His next service was in command of the cavalry of Sir Hugh Gough's army in the battle gained at Maharajpore over the Gwalior army. Soon afterwards he was employed against foemen worthier of his steel, the Sikhs of the Khalsa army, trained by Avitabili and other veterans of Napoleon's wars. He commanded the cavalry of the army of the Sutlej, and led the 3rd Light Dragoons in single file across a narrow bund, or embankment, in the ditch of the Sikh entrenchment at Sobraon, and over the parapet into the camp, a feat so extraordinary that Lord Gough, in his despatch, stated that the cavalry had entered the Sikh position "through the openings in the entrenchments made by our sappers," never imagining that they could have got in by any other way, and unaided by engineers or infantry.

When Brigadier-General Cureton was killed at Ramnuggur in the second Sikh War, General Thackwell succeeded him in the command of the cavalry of the army, and commanded it in the doubtful and murderous Battle of Chilianwala; but he was with the brigade on the left of the line of battle, and consequently did not witness the rout of Pope's cavalry brigade on the right of the line. He was nominated second-in-command of the army by Lord Gough, and given command of the detached force sent to turn the position of the Sikhs at Ramnuggur, and fought the indecisive action of Sadulapore, showing on that occasion a caution and deliberation which contrasts with his habitual audacity and impetuosity when acting in a subordinate capacity at the head of a Cavalry Division.

It is interesting to find that even in those days Generals

had to reckon with the Press, of which Lord Gough stood in more fear than he did of the enemy. He writes to Sir Joseph after the action at Sadulapore: "For God's sake send me your report! The Press will be open-mouthed at its long delay." Their master in the art of war, the Iron Duke, would not have cared "a twopenny damn" for the Press, however open-mouthed it might be; nor would he ever have nominated anybody as his second-in-command. He said that a command was one man's job, and that a second-in-command was only a device for dividing authority and evading responsibility.

The publication of the despatches on the operations in the second Punjab War was delayed by Lord Dalhousie's taking upon himself to edit them, and returning them for correction. But the "imperious little man" at Simla met his match in Lord Gough's successor, Sir Charles Napier, who, however, was not so fortunate as Lord Kitchener in resisting the usurpation of military command by a civil authority.

Colonel Wyllly enters at length and in detail into the arguments on both sides in the controversies evoked by the events of this campaign: whether Sir Joseph Thackwell crossed the Chenab by the fort which Lord Gough intended that he should cross; whether the advance of Sir Colin Campbell's Division at Chilianwala was, or was not, assisted by the fire of the Horse Artillery guns; and other subjects of debate, which were keenly discussed and argued by contemporary writers, but which arouse little interest to-day after the lapse of two generations.

Sir Joseph Thackwell commanded the Meerut Division during the last years of his service in India, which he quitted in 1853. He sought employment during the Crimean War, but he was then too old for a cavalry leader; however, he was appointed Inspector-General of Cavalry in the United Kingdom. He was promoted to Lieutenant-General and made a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath; he retired to an estate which he had purchased

in Ireland, and there death closed the honourable and eventful career of this brave soldier and good man.

The book is well printed and handsomely illustrated, and furnished with good maps and plans. In giving the dates of occurrences, the omission of the year sometimes occasions trouble to the reader. At page 173 we are told that "in September of this year Sher Singh, Maharajah of Lahore, was assassinated," but neither before nor after is there any information as to what year it was. Mention is several times made of a regiment called the 11th Light Cavalry, but there were only ten regiments of light cavalry in the Bengal Army, and 11th is probably a printer's error for 10th. The use of the word "unit" as a general term for a corps is indefensible, and the fact that its use in this respect has originated with our War Office ought to be a warning to military writers to avoid it. We may speak of a corps as a "tactical unit" or an "administrative unit," but without the qualifying adjective the units of a military force are the individual men who compose it.—F. H. T.

II. *The Commercial Products of India; being an Abridgment of "The Dictionary of the Economic Products of India,"* by SIR GEORGE WATT, C.I.E., LL.D., etc. Published under the authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. The "Dictionary" referred to was written by Sir George Watt, and published 1885-1894, and being out of print for some time, the Government of India has ordered that this work should be brought out. It is confined to products which are of present or prospective industrial or commercial importance in India. The work has been compiled under the supervision of Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, of Kew Gardens; and assisted by experts of particular subjects both in India and Britain. Every available source of information has been consulted, in order that the work should be complete and useful to everyone whose interests are vested in the multifarious products of the country. The topics are arranged in alphabetical order, like a dictionary, and afford every

information on the growth, cultivation, value, and other details connected with each subject described, so that the volume is of real practical value to the commerce and industry of the Indian Empire.

12. *The Book of Filial Duty*, translated from the Chinese of the Hsiao Ching, by IVAN CHÊN, First Secretary to the Chinese Legation, with the twenty-four examples from the Chinese. In the introduction to the book it is stated that "it is generally held to be the work of an unknown pupil of Tsêng Ts'an, the disciple of Confucius, to whom is attributed the famous Confucian classic, known as "The Greater Learning." Certainly it can be traced back as far as 400 B.C., within a century from the death of Confucius." It is very popular among all classes of Chinese. In the eighteen chapters on filial duty there is the explanation of filial duty in an Emperor, feudal princes, high officers, literary class, common people, three Powers (heaven, earth, and man), Government, the sage, the son; the five punishments, "the important doctrine," the highest virtue, raising the reputation, remonstrance, filial piety, serving the Sovereign, and mourning for one's parents. There are some beautiful examples, all illustrating filial duties under the above heads.

13. *Wisdom of the East. The Heart of India. Sketches in the History of Hindu Religion and Morals*, by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., LITT.D., Professor of Sanskrit at University College, London. Dr. Barnett, in his preface, says he "has brought together a few sketches of the things that are nearest to the heart of the millions of India. The heart is not the head, and therefore I have said but little of the great intellectual problems which have busied the Hindu brain for well-nigh two thousand years. But from the schools of the Pandite certain thoughts have gone forth, which in more or less vague form have become an integral part of the people's stock of ideas." "The main part of my task has been to show what has been the worthiest answers given by the Hindus to the great questions of

man's relation to God and to fellow-man." This has been well done in twenty-three very short chapters. As a specimen we shall quote only a sentence or two from the words of the "preacher" in the Mahābhārata in relation to Fate. "This whole world depends upon Fate in pleasure and pain, in birth and unborn being. Whether a man have friends or not, whether he have foes or allies, whether he be wise or void of wisdom, he gets his happiness through Fate. Friends suffice not to make one happy, nor foes to make one unhappy; wisdom suffices not to make one wealthy, wealth suffices not to make happy. Prudence is not enough to attain wealth, foolishness hinders not success; the wise man, not the fool, understands this course of the world's way. Fortune follows whomsoever she meets—the understanding and bold, the silly and cowardly, the dull and the wise, the weakly and the strong." In this concise and distinct way the other topics of the Hindu religion and morals are stated.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LONDON.

14. *Buddhist Essays*, by PAUL DAHLKE. Translated from the German by BHIKKHU SĪLLĀCĀRA. The author has succeeded admirably in not only giving a concise history of Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, but also in pointing out some obscure points in his teachings. He states that this is owing "not only from the study of books, but also from personal intercourse with native scholars both in Ceylon and Burma." His quotations, "where no other sources are given, are for the greater part taken from the middle collection of the second Book of the Pāli Canon—the 'Majjhima Nikāya'—which, in K. E. Neumann's beautiful translation, is by far the richest mine of Buddhism that has been made accessible to us during the last decade." The volume consists of twenty chapters relating to the life of the Buddha, and a variety of topics embraced in the doctrines of Buddhism. In his brief survey of their

historical development, he says: "The lands in which to-day the old spiritual glory is most fully maintained are Ceylon and Burma. Meanwhile there exist distinctions between these two lands—well-marked distinctions, moreover. To Ceylon must be conceded greater erudition in its individual monks, and a closer relation in language and blood with the Motherland of Buddhism. Pāli, the sacred language, in all probability the speech of the Buddha and of his earlier disciples, is taught and spoken in its pure form only in Ceylon; and Sinhalese, like Pāli, belongs to that great Indo-Germanic group of languages which, besides other offshoots, includes Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and the tongues of modern Europe. It is thus perhaps not altogether idle to point out that the Buddha is related to us both by language and by race. The thoughts that were the product of his mind, and the other great thoughts to which India has given birth are Indo-Germanic common property, for there is perhaps nothing that is more specific to the Aryan stock than its philosophizing. To speak frankly, we have up till now despised turning towards our heritage on the Ganges, simply because we have failed to comprehend its great value. More than this, the culture and population of Ceylon—not the aboriginal population, indeed, but the higher castes—came from the classic region of Northern India, from the plain of the Ganges. Burma, on the contrary, along with its people, stands outside the Aryan race. Its inhabitants are classed with the great Mongolian stock, and the Burmese tongue, like the Chinese, is not in a position to render unchanged the rich, sonorous Pāli syllables. On the other hand, there stands to Burma's credit the unquestionably greater piety of its people as a whole. Ceylon, Burma, and Siam together represent what is called Southern Buddhism, having Pāli as the sacred language. Against these three, Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan, and Mongolia make up the body of what is called Northern Buddhism. These latter, still further estranged from the pure teaching than the

Southern countries, have made Sanskrit their sacred language. The relationship between Sanskrit and Pāli is somewhat like that which exists between Latin and Italian, at least so far as the structure of the language is concerned." Our space does not permit us to quote more from this able and interesting survey of the historical development of Buddhism. The translator has executed his task with remarkable ability and felicity.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY; LONDON, EDINBURGH,
NEW YORK, ETC.

15. *The Call of Korea*, by HORACE G. UNDERWOOD, for twenty-three years a missionary in Korea. Illustrated from photographs by CAMERON JOHNSON. The author has seen the extension of Christian Missions from their infancy till now; they embrace over one hundred thousand believers. "From the very start the Koreans have shown a receptivity unequalled by the people of any other land, and as a result the success that has followed the preaching of the Gospel has been phenomenal. Thousands have been won to the Cross, and the only limit seems to be the physical power of the missionary to cope with, guide, and direct the work." "During the last year," Bishop Harris says, "the year 1907 will ever be memorable for the revival which involved the whole country." The volume contains an interesting description of the country, the lives of the people, secular and religious, and the methods which have been adopted in extending the knowledge of Christianity. The illustrations are numerous, accompanied with an excellent map, showing the railways that at present exist and what are proposed, and the various Mission stations of all Christian Missions, which happily work together in cordial unanimity. The author appeals most earnestly for more help from Christian Churches at home, and especially from the United States of America.

T. FISHER UNWIN; ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON.

16. *Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India*, by JOHN CAMPBELL OMAN, formerly Professor of Natural Science in the Government College, Lahore. This work is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's "Indian Life, Religious and Social," published in 1889, and noticed in our issue of April of that year. The work comprises studies and sketches of peculiarities in the beliefs, festivals, and domestic life of the people of India; also of witchcraft and demoniacal possession, as known among them. The facts have been mainly acquired by personal experience during many years in India, and each case has been carefully noted. The illustrations, which are numerous, do much to elucidate the text. The author has divided his facts and observations under four parts. The *first* part is devoted to religious and sectarian matters; the *second* to fairs and festivals; the *third* to aspects of domestic life among the common people; and the *fourth* to curious beliefs and superstitions. There is a minute and copious index. A perusal of the work will give a graphic sidelight to many peculiarities of Indian domestic life, unknown to the official ranks and to many others who have resided in India for many years. We rejoice that the author has produced such an enlarged, interesting, and useful volume.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Selections from the Travels and Journals Preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, edited by GEORGE W. FORREST, C.I.E., ex-Director of Records, Government of India, (Bombay : Government Central Press, 1906.) The documents in this volume, of upwards of 300 pages, were brought together by Mr. Forrest when he was Director of Records, Bombay Government. They have been buried in archives of that Government or in old journals not easily accessible. To bring them to light and to preserve them "from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion" is the object of this compilation. They are printed, letter for letter, exactly as they are in the original papers. Many words occur which are not easily accounted for; many names are spelt contrary to orthodox rules; many sentences war against the laws of grammar. In perusing the volume it almost reminds one of "Rip Van Winkle." It is full of interesting records of travels, notices of places, Embassies to the King of Persia from the Ameer of Kabul, letters from Major D'Arcy Todd and from Lieutenant Pottinger, etc., and narratives of travels and excursions in the olden time. There is a very copious and interesting index.

Letters of Aurungzebe (with Historical and Explanatory Notes). Translated from the original Persian into English by JAMSHID H. BILIMORIA, B.A. (Luzac and Co., Russell Street, London; Bombay, Cherag Printing Press, 1908.) These eighty-one letters, addressed to the father, sons, and officers, are of considerable historical interest. The translator says in his preface that "most of them seem to have been written when Aurungzebe was engaged in his great Deccan War (1683-1707), especially during the latter period of the war." They generally refer to the King's private life, to minor historical events, and show that he was a just, kind, and lenient King, according

to the ideas and customs prevalent at the time, and that he was a devout Mahomedan. The translator, J. H. Bilimoria, has consulted the works of numerous well-known historians, and gives the result of his researches in a large collection of explanatory notes, which add much interest to the text. In one of the last letters in the volume (clxxii.) the King gives the following advice: "Religious charity practised by Government should not be known to the public. My object is to please the holy souls of the prophets, the Glorious and Sublime God, and His companion [*i.e.*, Mahomet]. May the goodwill and peace of God be upon him [*i.e.*, Mahomet] and upon his family. If this is also impossible, why should it [*i.e.*, money] not be distributed among the poor of this country? [*i.e.*, India]. Because the manifestation of the Holy God is reflected in every place [*i.e.*, God] is omnipresent. We are nearer to God than even to the pulse of the neck."

Marlborough Self-Taught Series. No. 15, Hindūstāni. This handy pocket-book contains alphabet and pronunciation by English phonetics, a vocabulary, idiomatic phrases and dialogues, travel-talk; military, legal, religious, commercial, shooting, fishing terms; Indian titles, castes, servants; money, weights and measures, by CAPTAIN C. A. THIMM. This third edition has been carefully revised by J. F. BLUMHARDT, M.A., M.R.A.S., with a short preface. The compiler has been fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Colonel F. Forjett, of the Indian Army, President and Examiner in Hindūstāni of the Military Staff College, India. It is useful to students, officers, civil servants, missionaries, merchants, tourists, and English residents in India. We most cordially recommend it.

A Critical Survey and Summary of the Leading Upanishads, by SHAMBHUPRASAD SHIVPRASAD MEHTA. (Shree "Saraswati" Press, Bhavnagar, 1908). An interesting and useful critical survey.

The Harvest Field. A Missionary Magazine. (Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore City.) This publication continues

to give, from time to time, much interesting information on the efforts of Missions and their progress.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*:—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1908 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London);—*Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*;—*Dutch Records*, No. 1;—*Memoir on the Malabar Coast*, by J. V. Stein Van Gollennesse (Government Press, Madras);—*Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle for 1907-1908*;—*Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, vol. ii., Part V.;—*Marathi and Gujarati Books*, by J. F. Blumhardt, M.A. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1908);—*Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for year ending March 31, 1908*;—*List of Arabic and Persian MSS. Acquired on behalf of the Government of India by the Asiatic*

Society of Bengal during 1905-1907;—*The Story of the Raya and Appaji*, by T. M. Sundaram Aujar;—*Babu Surendranath Banerjea: The Man and his Mission*;—*Nation Building: A Stirring Appeal to Indians*, by Mrs. A. Besant;—*The Swadeshi Movement* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *A Wandering Student in the Far East*, by the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P., in two volumes (William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1908);—*The Sword of Islam*, by Arthur N. Wollaston, C.I.E. (John Murray, London); *The Jungle Folk of Africa*, by R. H. Milligan (Fleming H. Revell and Co., London and Edinburgh); *The Book of Wheat*, by P. T. Bondlinger, PH.D. (New York: Orange Judd and Co.; London: Kegan Paul);—*Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, by A. J. Edmunds, M.A. (Luzac and Co., London);—*The Second Temple in Jerusalem*, by W. Shaw Caldecott (John Murray, London);—*Doctor Lee*, by Marshall Broomhall, B.A. (Morgan and Scott, London);—*The Marches of the Mantze*, by J. H. Edgar (China Inland Mission);—*Thomas George, Earl of Northbrook*, by Bernard Mallet (Longmans, Green and Co., London);—*Semitic Magic*, by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A. (Luzac and Co., London);—*Ad-Damîrês Hayât Al-Hayawân* (a zoological Lexicon), by Lieut.-Colonel A. S. G. Jayakar (Luzac and Co., London);—*An Indian Study of Love and Death*, by the Sister Nivedita (Longmans, Green and Co., London).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—On the occasion of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria as Empress of India, H.M. the King-Emperor sent the following message to the princes and peoples of India :

“It is now fifty years since Queen Victoria, my beloved mother and my august predecessor on the throne of these realms, for divers weighty reasons, with the advice and consent of Parliament, took upon herself the government of the territories theretofore administered by the East India Company. I deem this a fitting anniversary on which to greet the princes and peoples of India in commemoration of the exalted task then solemnly undertaken. Half a century is but a brief span in your long annals, yet this half-century that ends to-day will stand amid the floods of your historic ages a far-shining landmark. The proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of Indian government, and opened a new era. The journey was arduous, and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow ; but the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities, and of some 300,000,000 of the human race, under British guidance and control has proceeded steadfastly and without pause. We survey our labours of the past half-century with clear gaze and good conscience.

“Difficulties such as attend all human rule in every age and place have risen up from day to day. They have been faced by the servants of the British Crown with toil, and courage, and patience ; with deep counsel, and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken. If errors have occurred, the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them ; if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy.

“No secret of empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague, but experienced administrators have done all

that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate those dire calamities of Nature. For a longer period than was ever known in your land before, you have escaped the dire calamities of war within your borders. Internal peace has been unbroken.

"In the great charter of 1858* Queen Victoria gave you noble assurance of her earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all resident therein. The schemes that have been diligently framed and executed for promoting your material convenience and advance—schemes unsurpassed in their magnitude and their boldness—bear witness before the world to the zeal with which that benignant promise has been fulfilled.

"The rights and privileges of the feudatory princes and ruling chiefs have been respected, preserved, and guarded, and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving. No man among my subjects has been favoured, molested, or disquieted by reason of his religious belief or worship. All men have enjoyed protection of the law. The law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste, or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilization; it has been simplified in form, and its machinery adjusted to the requirements of ancient communities slowly entering a new world.

"The charge confided to my Government concerns the destinies of countless multitudes of men now and for ages to come, and it is a paramount duty to repress with a stern arm guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim. These conspiracies I know to be abhorrent to the loyal and faithful character of the vast hosts of my Indian subjects, and I will not suffer them to turn me aside from my task of building up the fabric of security and order.

"Unwilling that this historic anniversary should pass

* See text under "Correspondence, Notes and News" elsewhere in this *Review*.

without some signal mark of royal clemency and grace, I have directed that, as was ordered on the memorable occasion of the Coronation Durbar in 1903, the sentences of persons whom our courts have duly punished for offences against the law should be remitted or in various degrees reduced; and it is my wish that such wrongdoers may remain mindful of this act of mercy, and may conduct themselves without offence henceforth.

“Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.

“From the first the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power. Administration will be all the more efficient if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects, and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it. I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known to you, and will, I am very confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs.

“I recognize the valour and fidelity of my Indian troops, and at the New Year I have ordered that opportunity should be taken to show in substantial form this my high appreciation of their martial instincts, their splendid discipline, and their faithful readiness of service.

"The welfare of India was one of the objects dearest to the heart of Queen Victoria. By me, ever since my visit in 1875, the interests of India, its princes and peoples, have been watched with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken. My dear son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales returned from their sojourn among you with warm attachment to your land, and true and earnest interest in its well-being and content. These sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of my royal house and line only represent, and they do most truly represent, the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this kingdom.

"May Divine protection and favour strengthen the wisdom and mutual goodwill that are needed for the achievement of a task as glorious as was ever committed to rulers and subjects in any state or empire of recorded time."

The royal message, which was read by the Viceroy in Durbar at Jodhpur, was cordially received in all districts throughout India.

On September 17 last, in the midst of a large and influential gathering, Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, laid the foundation-stone of the Ranchi College, which is to be built five miles from Ranchi.

Several attempts have been made on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, evidently by members of a conspiracy, consisting of seditious students and other persons.

The anniversary of the Partition of Bengal was, on October 16, made the occasion of demonstrations in Calcutta and throughout the province, but there was no serious disturbance of public order.

In consequence of the persistent outrages, the Viceroy had suddenly to abandon his tour, and to return to Calcutta.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Calcutta Trades Association, and the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association addressed a letter to the Viceroy, in which they said that they had no hesitation in urging the Government to adopt immediate drastic measures to break up the

conspiracy organized by a body of Indian criminals, whose deliberate aim is to overthrow the British Government by murdering European officials, terrorizing judges, and all those whose duty it is to see that justice is carried out. The letter urged a special judicial tribunal, which should be empowered to deal with all cases which could be traceable to the seditious propaganda. The court should sit without a jury, the proceedings be summary, and there should be no appeal. On December 11 a Bill was accordingly passed at a single sitting of the Indian Council, providing for the more speedy trial of persons charged with certain offences, and the prohibition of societies dangerous to the public peace. The Bill will be first applied to Bengal, Eastern Bengal, and Assam, but power is given to extend it to other provinces.

Mr. Jacob Sassoon has given the Governor of Bombay £66,000 to establish a Central College of Science at Bombay; and Miss Hamabai Pettit has set apart jewellery valued at £66,000 to £80,000 to be sold, the proceeds to be devoted to the establishment of a Parsee girls' orphanage at Bombay.

The bridge of boats over the Indus at Dera Ghazi Khan has been completed, and was opened for traffic on November 1. It is 3,400 feet in length.

According to a statistical abstract relating to India, which has been published by the India Office as a Blue Book, at the last census there was a total population of 294,361,056 persons, occupying 55,841,315 houses on an area of 1,773,168 square miles. No fewer than 185 languages are enumerated as being spoken by the people of India. In 1906-1907 the gross revenue was stated to be: India, £72,270,089; England, £874,465. The expenditure charged to India was £52,346,771, and to England £19,208,408. In that year the total receipts from opium were £5,660,528, the expenditure being £1,913,292. The number of chests of opium sold for export from Bengal in 1906-1907 was 52,800, as compared with an annual

average in the preceding ten years of 45,947, and the number of chests paying duty in Bombay was 13,792, as compared with an annual average of 20,366. The expenditure on famine relief was £307,715. Military expenditure in 1906-1907 was £21,586,086 (£6,008,721 of this being in England), as compared with a gross total of £16,901,877 a decade ago. Debt and other obligations made up a total liability of £253,884,619, a sum which has gradually increased since 1896-1897, when it was £200,042,073. Post-Office returns show that in 1906-1907, 779,556,586 letters, postcards, newspapers, and parcels were dealt with. A total of 21,620,813 money orders were issued for the amount of £25,811,832. There were 348,691 Europeans and 3,803,124 natives with deposit accounts in the Post-Office Savings Banks. There were 162,690 schools and colleges in India in 1906-1907, with a total of 5,397,862 pupils. Trade statistics show that the imports from the United Kingdom in 1906-1907 were of the value of £48,198,645, and the exports to the United Kingdom were £31,289,511.

The irrigation works in India during 1906-1907 shows that there were thirteen constructed in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, which only yielded a return of 1·46 per cent. These results are, however, more than counterbalanced by results attained on the thirty remaining productive works, the net revenue of which during the year was equivalent to a return of 11·47 per cent. on capital outlay. The net revenue of all productive works was the largest on record, and represented a return of 8·97 per cent. on capital outlay. The highest was by the Eastern Jumna Canal, which returned 28·47 per cent., and is the most remunerative work of its kind.

The following appointments were made by the King at an Investiture at Buckingham Palace, London, on October 12 :

The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India.—Received the Honour of Knighthood, and to be a Knight Com-

mander. — Mr. Edward Norman Baker, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The Most Honourable Order of the Bath.—To be Companions (Military Division).—Brigadier-General Charles Westmorland, Brigade Commander, India. Colonel Arthur Money, for services in connection with the operations against the Zakka Khel and Mohmands.

The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India.—To be a Companion.—Brigadier-General Herbert Mullaly, for services in connection with the operations against the Zakka Khel and Mohmands.

The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.—To be a Companion.—Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Perry, Indian Medical Service, Honorary Surgeon to the Viceroy of India.

The Distinguished Service Order.—To be a Companion.—Lieutenant Algernon Langhorne, for services in connection with the operations against the Zakka Khel and Mohmands.

Mr. Murray Hammick, C.S.I., C.I.E., has been appointed a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras in succession to Mr. Gabriel Stokes. Herbert William Carnduff, C.I.E., has been appointed a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta in the place of Mr. Justice Rampini retired.

NATIVE STATES.—A cyclone in September caused an abnormal rainfall in Hyderabad (Deccan). The Musi River, adjoining the city, overflowed its banks, flooded the city, and overwhelmed the suburb of Afzul Ganj. The Nizam's hospital collapsed, burying a number of patients. The patients of the Victoria Zenna Hospital were saved by the nurses, who carried them on to the roofs. The village of Ghanliguda, containing about a thousand houses, situate on the river-bank, entirely sank in the mud. The water rose to such a height that the houses were submerged. Damage to the extent of over a million sterling was caused to property.

A relief fund was opened, to which the Nizam contributed £133,000, and the Government £66,000. There were also donations from Lord and Lady Minto, Sir Sydenham Clarke and others.

An influential meeting was held on December 3 in the Mansion House, London, presided over by the Lord Mayor, to express sympathy with His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and his subjects, in respect to the great calamity which overtook the capital on the occasion of the recent floods. A committee was formed to appeal for subscriptions on behalf of those who sustained losses.

The Mysore Representative Assembly opened on October 8, and the Dewan presented the customary statement on the administration of the State during the past year, which has been financially prosperous. The total revenue was £1,601,666, out of which provision has been made for building the cash balance of the State and contributing to the famine insurance fund, leaving a surplus of £92,133. The Dewan, dealing with the unrest in India, while deploring the fact that it had not been absent from Mysore, pointed out the fact that, as far as the State was concerned, the conditions are all that a genuine nationalist could desire.

AFGHANISTAN.—Under the Ameer's orders a bridge across the Cabul River is being constructed at Jelalabad. When completed, the bridge will make the province of Loghmon easy of access.

PERSIA.—There has been considerable unrest in Persia in all the provinces during the last quarter. The Shah has been approached by the people to abandon the Constitution, but on the advice of Great Britain and Russia, he announced that a modified Constitution will be adopted.

Captain David Lockhart Robertson Lorimer has been appointed His Majesty's Consul for Arabistan, to reside at Ahwaz.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—The Khedive has appointed

Boutros Pasha to succeed Mustapha Pasha Felnui as Premier. Boutros Pasha will still retain the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The new Cabinet has been constructed as follows: Raad Pasha Zagloub, Public Instruction; Hochmet Pasha, Finance; Mahomed Said Bey, Interior; Hussein Rushdy Pasha, Justice; and Ismail Sirry Pasha, Public Works and War.

The Budget for 1909 shows that the receipts for the last financial year were £E15,100,000, and the total expenditure £E14,850,000, leaving a surplus of £E250,000.

ABYSSINIA.—The delimitation of the southern frontier of Abyssinia began in October by a joint Anglo-Abyssinian Commission, and will occupy about a year. The new boundary is based upon the Southern Frontier Agreement, signed at Addisabeba in December, 1907, by the Emperor Menelik and the British Chargé d'Affaires.

CHINA.—The Emperor of China, Kwang-Hsu (twelfth), died on November 14 at Peking. The Empress also died on November 15, and Prince Pu-yi was appointed as the new Emperor, and his father, Prince Chun, Regent and Controller of the Nation.

An Imperial Edict, issued in Peking on October 19, announced that the Chinese Government has abandoned its monopoly of the opium-selling business, and that a licensing system will be substituted.

JAPAN.—Mr. Y. Yamaza, having been appointed Councillor to the Japanese Embassy, arrived in London on September 21.

CEYLON.—A customs duty of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* is now levied on all precious stones, not being the produce of the Colony, imported into Ceylon. This regulation came into force on October 3.

The revenue for the first ten months of last year approximates to Rs. 29,048,054, being Rs. 618,612 short of the estimate.

G. F. Roberts, c.c.s., is to be District Judge of Badulla in succession to W. A. G. Hood, c.c.s., from November 1 last.

AFRICA : CAPE COLONY.—Dinuzulu was placed on his trial at Greytown on November 10. The indictment, which was read to him in the Zulu tongue, and to which he pleaded not guilty, contained twenty-three counts, the gist of which is that he encouraged Bambata and other chiefs to fight ; that he himself collected arms and men for warlike purposes ; and that he harboured rebels.

Cakijana was convicted at Greytown on November 11 for having committed overt acts of rebellion in conjunction with Bambata, and was therefore found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to seven years' hard labour.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA AND NIGERIA.—The Anglo-German Nigerian Delimitation Commission arrived on November 27 at Takum, the British portion having completed its survey of the boundary of Northern Nigeria.

MOROCCO.—An amicable arrangement has been arrived at between Mulai Hafid and Abdul Aziz. The latter retains all private properties which he inherited from his father, and will receive a pension.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—Mr. Fisher, leader of the Labour Party, has formed a new Federal Cabinet.

The Bill confirming the selection of Yass-Canberra as the site of the new Commonwealth capital has passed the Senate and the House of Representatives.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the last financial year showed a deficit of £2,365, which the treasurer ascribed to the Federal Government's encroachment under the Surplus Revenue Act.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Admiral Sir D. H. Bosanquet is now Governor of South Australia in place of Sir G. Le Hunte, now Governor of Trinidad and Tobago.

QUEENSLAND.—A New Cabinet has been formed by a combination of the Kidston and Philp Parties, with Mr. Kidston as leader.

NEW ZEALAND.—The United States of America have reciprocated the establishment of penny postage from New Zealand to the United States.

The recent Parliamentary elections resulted as follows : Government, 50 ; Opposition, 25 ; Independent, 5. The four Maori members who sat in the last Parliament have been re-elected.

Mr. W. Hall-Jones will act as High Commissioner for New Zealand in London in succession to Mr. W. P. Reeves.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Colonel William Blackett (Peshawar expedition force, 1858) ;—Second-Lieutenant Douglas Roberts (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa) ;—Hon. E. Duncane Smithe, Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces ;—General Sir Arnold Burrowes Kemball, K.C.B. (Afghanistan 1838-39, Persian campaign 1857) ;—Colonel John Charles Downie Morrison (China expedition 1857-58, North China 1860) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel James Herne Wade (Sebastopol 1854, Indian Mutiny 1857-58) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Ingram Conway-Gordon (Indian Mutiny) ;—Sir Edward Noel-Walker, late Lieutenant-Governor of Ceylon ;—Colonel George Leith Fraser (Sutlej campaign 1846, Punjab campaign 1849, expedition to Kohat 1850, Central India) ;—Captain Edward Alverne Bolitho (Abyssinian expedition 1868) ;—General Francis Hornblow Rundall, R.E., C.S.I., Inspector-General of Irrigation, India ;—Colonel Albert Edmund Leslie, of the Indian Army (Zhob Valley expedition 1884) ;—William Ashby Ingle, Sind Commission (retired) ;—Colonel William Robert Le Geyt Anderson, C.B., Indian Army (retired), sometime Accountant-General, Military Department, Government of India ;—David Ross Clarke, late Captain Bengal Staff Corps ;—John Tyndall Bruce Dalrymple Sewell, D.S.O., Indian police, and sometime Major-Commandant Berar Volunteer Rifles ;—Philip James Masey, late Indian Commissariat Department ;—Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. Stebbing (Indian Mutiny) ;—Major C. L. E. Robertson Eustace (Manipore expedition 1891, Lushai expedition 1891-92, South Africa 1896, South African war, 1899-1900) ;—Surgeon-Major Thomas Holmsted, late Indian Medical Service ;—Colonel Henry Robert Mead, Royal (late Madras) Engineers (retired) ;—Captain James Haldane Stewart, of the West India Regiment ;—Charles Lionel Herbert, son of Colonel Charles Herbert, Resident Jaipur, Rajputana, India ;—Dr. Thomas Cartwright Smyth, Government Chaplain at Meerut during the Indian Mutiny ;—Major-General John James Boswell (Indian Mutiny) ;—Charles Bowder (Gwalior campaign) ;—Hon. Khajah Mahomed Ashgar ;—Rao Saheb Murar Rao Kshirsajao ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Thomas Bingham, late Bengal Staff Corps, and Conservator of Forests, Burma ;—Alexander Reid Shand, son of late Charles Shand of Ceylon ;—Ross Scott, M.A., I.C.S. (retired) ;—Major-General Alexander Ross Elliott Hutchinson, Bengal Staff Corps

(Punjab campaign 1848-49);—Captain G. M. Grant (Crimea and Indian Mutiny);—Colonel R. E. K. Money, late Bengal Staff Corps (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major H. R. Lovett (Afghan war 1879-80, Boer war 1881, Egyptian war 1882, Black Mountain expedition 1891);—General Sir J. J. Hood Gordon (Indian Mutiny);—Angus Campbell, formerly Second-Lieutenant Indian Staff Corps;—Sir Edward FitzGerald Law, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G.;—William Arthur Frederick White, of Aihbeel, Bengal;—Major Robert Hutchison Campbell Tufnell, late Madras Staff Corps;—William D'Oyly, late of the East India Company;—Thomas Harvey French, M.A., Principal of Rajkumar College, Raipur, C.P.;—William Robert Green, late District Superintendent Bengal Police;—Captain Henry Stokes, late Indian Army;—General Sir Godfrey Clerk, K.C.V.O., C.B. (Indian Mutiny, North-West Frontier operations, 1864);—Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Sankey, R.E. (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel Henry Laurence Dundas (Afghanistan campaign);—Colonel E. R. Berry (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Indian operations 1857);—H. A. F. Lindsay-Carnegie (siege of Delhi, and Lucknow);—Major-General W. C. Justice (Indian campaign 1857, West Coast of Africa 1881);—General S. H. Becher, late Bengal Staff Corps;—Major-General George Brown Mellersh (Persian Gulf expedition 1857-58);—Lieutenant-General Sir Henry C. Wilkinson (Indian Mutiny, Afghan war, Egyptian expeditionary force 1882);—Colonel James Shrubb Iredell, Bombay Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny 1857-58, Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel Henry Miles Burgess;—Walter Brandreth Bromley, M.L.C.E., late Indian Government Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Jameson, late Indian Medical Service;—Colonel W. E. Johnson, M.D., I.M.S. (retired);—Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander England, late 10th Bengal Lancers (Hodson's Horse);—Colonel Alexander Copland, C.B., Indian Army;—General H. Melvill, late East India Company (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Brevet-Major C. H. Strutt, Military Knight of Windsor, late Royal Bombay Artillery (Indian Mutiny);—Major F. V. Agnew (North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Major Charles Halford Baldwin Clark, Indian Army.

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INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.*

PREFATORY REMARKS BY SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL, K.C.S.I.

THE paper on "Indian Industrial Development" which I have the honour of presenting to your readers is not by an educational officer. Its author, Mr. Spring, is a distinguished engineer, who, during a service of thirty-three years, has held various responsible appointments under the Government of India in connection with the working and administration of railways. He built the great bridge over the River Kistna at Bezvada, was secretary to the Madras Government in the Railway Department, became Chief Engineer, a C.I.E. and Fellow of the Madras University. He is an authority on the training and control of the great Indian rivers; he prepared the scheme for the great bridge over the Ganges at Sara, a bridge which is now at last to be built; he was Director of Railway Construction to the Government of India; and since his retirement in 1904 has, as Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Madras Port Trust, been engaged in carrying out very extensive improvements to the Madras breakwater and harbour, and in organizing facilities for shipping, unloading, and the landing and handling of goods. He has, however, for many years

* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

interested himself in technical education, and was invited this year by the Madras Government to take part in a conference on industrial and technical education. To this conference the present paper is his contribution. It deals in an original way, not with details, but with principles, and his main object is to excite among intelligent and interested readers and hearers what has been called "the malady of thought." I propose to add a few comments of my own.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

BY F. J. E. SPRING.

In the Madras Revenue Secretary's D.O. letter, No. 1859A, dated May 21, 1908, I have been asked for suggestions in advance as to the practical measures which may be taken for the promotion of (1) industrial development, or (2) of technical education.

I have broad general ideas of my own, and have nursed them for many years without much chance of giving public expression to them, and the present seems a good opportunity for doing so, even though I am perfectly well aware that they run a great risk of being characterized as of too vague and general a nature for practical action to be taken on them. However, that is nothing to me. I shall be content if I set people thinking, and if, ten or twenty years hence, the general character of the education which we offer to the people shall have developed somewhat in the direction in which, in my judgment, it ought to have developed ten or twenty years ago.

I do not say that the educational system now practically universally in use—*i.e.*, a purely literary system of education—was not all right enough when it was first introduced, half a century ago; for the Administration needed large numbers of employes with a fair knowledge of English, and there were not nearly enough of such men to supply the demand. I do not know how it is nowadays, but I remember quite well in the Punjab thirty-eight years

ago how the Irrigation Engineer, or, indeed, the Deputy Commissioner of the district, used to sit surrounded by his five to twenty *munshis* squatting on the ground, speaking nothing but Urdu, and all documents read out were in Urdu or Punjabi, and had orders passed on them in the vernacular. Indeed, when a *tahsildar* came to pay a visit of ceremony, he usually knew no other language than his own. I am far from insisting that this was a bad state of things, but whether good or bad it had to go, and it has gone; and in order to replace it by our modern system it became necessary to give a fairly good education in the English language to as large a number of young Indians as practicable, in order that they might not only fill posts in the public service worthily, but might be fit to practise in one or other of the so-called learned professions—law and medicine.

But from my point of view—and I wish it to be understood clearly that I am far from insisting that my point of view is the only one, or the only right one—the educational authorities made a great error in their failure to recognize several years ago—perhaps ten, perhaps twenty years ago—that the time had already arrived when the supply of fairly well educated young Indians for the needs of the public service was safely assured, and might be left to take care of itself; and that to go on turning out far more of them, equipped in the sealed-pattern manner, than could possibly find any sort of employment, instead of devising an alternative system of education better adapted to the altered conditions of the country, was a bad mistake *under the circumstances*. The circumstances I refer to are that India by that time had arrived at the stage of needing industrial development at the hands of her own sons—true *Swadeshi* development—but was no more able to find from amongst the high-school and University students the better kind of employé needed by every successful industry than, twenty or thirty years before, the Government had

been able to lay its hands on men equipped suitably for the ordinary civil and judicial administration of the country.

I suppose that, outside and beyond the idea of providing a large number of young men from whom candidates for the public service and for the learned professions might be drawn, there was the idea that by diffusing a wide knowledge of English the valuable information on all conceivable subjects that lies open to those who can read the English language would be made widely available to young Indians. But have we not here an instance of lack of imagination? For the youth who has failed to secure employment is *not* the one who is likely to read and study English books on industrial subjects in order that, with luck and opportunity, he may perchance better his position. For, first of all, such books will usually be far beyond his means; secondly, he will find it difficult, if not impossible, to learn even the names of them; and thirdly, he will scarcely know English well enough to profit by the study of such books if lighted on. Practically, there is no vernacular literature concerning itself with industrialism, as far as I know, worth the paper it is written on, and there has been no organized attempt on anything like a large scale to provide vernacular translations of English scientific books. Indeed, I suppose the most enlightened votaries of *Swadeshi* will agree at once, on a little consideration, that, in view of the scores of different vernaculars and the infinite difficulties connected with translation of technical terms and nomenclature, there is no alternative to English if a new educational policy is to arm young men with the knowledge of underlying scientific principles on a scale adequate to insure their commanding the trust and respect of capitalists desirous of opening new industries.

I have an utter disbelief, *at this stage*, in our pushing on with the technical education of mere artisans. That will come later. What we want now is that the education

of the better classes, conducted in English, shall be on such lines as, first, shall not absolutely cut off a youth who follows those lines from all hope of employment in the public service, if he should see fit to prefer this to a career of industrialism; and second, shall at least give him a chance, if there are any industrial instincts in him, of finding out that he possesses them.

If I hand, say, a Kodak camera—the illustration is on my table as I write, and so I use it—to an average Englishman educated on the regulation classical and English lines, he will probably think vaguely that such things are made somewhere, perhaps by machinery, but for him they are merely things to be bought in shops. I can only suppose that if I lay the same thing before the average B.A. of Madras University, he will think very much on the same lines, only adding mentally that low-caste working people have to do with these practical matters but educated men have to do with the results on paper, and in general with paper and ink and with words, whether in print or vocal. I want that our average B.A., on seeing, say, a camera, shall, like the average Englishman or American of the practical, industrial sort, say within himself: “This is a thing that is made in hundreds and in thousands, and the making of it, and of, say, Singer’s sewing-machines and Yost’s typewriters, gives employment to thousands of hard-working artisans; and why shouldn’t I superintend the organization and direction of such labour, and so keep the reward of their and my industry in my own *desk*, instead of leaving it to the foreigner? and why shouldn’t I be so educated—or, at least, insist on my son being so educated—that not only shall I or he be qualified for the guidance of the industrial development contemplated, but shall also attract the confidence of our friend the goldsmith and banker over the way, so that he may feel safe in financing our enterprise?” But the goldsmith and banker is a very shrewd old gentleman, and he knows perfectly well that Mr.

Ramalinga Aiyar or Mr. Cooppusamy Chetty, as now educated, would in a very short time "make ducks and drakes," as we say, of his hard-earned money.

Long before they learn to make type writers, Kodaks, and sewing-machines, our disciples of *Swadeshi* might at least make umbrellas, paper, matches, buttons, sugar, glass, and a thousand other things which they now pay foreigners to make for them, to the tune of crores of rupees annually—and this *not* because the people of India *cannot* make such things, but because the so-called educated class, all through their years of development in boyhood, have sedulously had their attention turned away from everything of a practical, industrial nature by us, their guides, who ought to have known better.

I want the Government of the country and the Educational Department to rise to the occasion, and after first finding out, as they can easily do, how the difficulty is met in Europe and America, to launch out on a very extensive development of the new education in India *at any cost in reason*. FOR IT WILL PAY IN THE LONG RUN, in the development of the wealth of the country in a thousand ways, and in its better capacity for sparing more taxation for the needs of the new policy. There is no use telling me that the people have not got it in them. They have it in them right enough, but latent for lack of EDUCATION—in the true philological sense of that much-abused word.

I insist that the time has now come—indeed, arrived many years ago—for a wise Government, possessing with God's help a little imagination, to recognize the compelling urgency of the need for an indigenous industrial development, and in hundreds of high schools to afford to the better classes at least the chance of discovering any latent taste that may lie in them, undeveloped only for lack of opportunity, in the direction of industrial production. As well expect the present sort of schools and colleges to

furnish the necessary raw human material as to have expected the schools and colleges of monastic origin and tradition of the England of the eighteenth century to afford leaders in the textile, transportation, and numerous other gigantic industries which, on the initiative of a few untutored geniuses of the Watt, Stephenson, Arkwright, and Hargraves type, have utterly transformed the conditions of life in the civilized world in the last hundred years, and thereby have enormously increased the sum of human comfort.

In an early stage of his evolution man shares with the lower animals the disability of being unable to contribute in any other way than through the labour of his muscles to the well-being of himself and of those dependent on him for their support. In a later stage of development certain masterful men are found to force other and less masterful men to support them by the labour of the latter's muscles—that is, slaves labour, while masters live and look on in a state of comparative rest and freedom from sweat. Later again—and this undoubtedly is a higher stage of evolution than the slave stage—men are found to have trained a few of the lower animals to exert their muscles on their behalf, while they themselves rest and look on, or at least confine their exertions to the animals' guidance. Later again—indeed, very late in the history of his development—man learns how to cause inanimate things, instead of animals or men, to do his work for him. Needless to say, this last method of working—viz., the direction and guidance into the service of men of the great inanimate forces of Nature—connotes a far higher state of civilization and of development than that attained in any of the earlier stages. For if that part of man which already, in the course of his evolution, has risen superior to the corresponding part of his living fellows, the beasts, birds, fishes, insects, etc.—viz., if his thinking apparatus is to develop for the better on evolutionary lines—it is as well

that he should not be hampered by having to wear out not only his body, but also the thinking part of his ego, in muscular exertion, for the mere sake of keeping himself alive. To keep himself alive and to make life worth while man has certain elementary needs, amongst which may be reckoned a modicum of food, of warmth, of shelter, and of enjoyment, and in order to secure these for himself and for his dependents, and of the best quality obtainable, so that his and their happiness may approach the attainable maximum, it is necessary—apart from high-handed ruffianism—that he should either exert himself, or get other men to exert themselves for him, or train beasts to exert themselves for him, or, best of all, that he should so dispose of inanimate things that they may exert themselves on his behalf. He cannot well lie under a tree and expect the fruit to drop into his mouth, or the ravens of heaven to feed him. Speaking generally, the more exertion he succeeds in exercising, or in causing to be exercised on his behalf, provided he has the intelligence to guide it in right directions, the greater will be the degree of comfort and happiness that he will succeed in securing for himself and his dependents.

It was not many centuries ago that Europe, in the course of her development, reached the stage of compelling some few of the inanimate forces of Nature to work for her. Indeed, it is almost within the memory of men still living that, except for a few water-wheels and a few windmills—and in another direction, except for ships driven by the wind—there was but little to be seen even in Europe of the utilization by men of the forces of Nature. But nowadays the function of the average working man of Europe and America is to stand by and direct the great natural forces, so that they may work for him, while he acts as their brain; and in this way each man is able to guide the turning out of tens or hundreds of times more work than was possible in the old days, and yet with no more fatigue of

his own muscles than he endured when his out-turn was far smaller.

This not being a politico-economical essay, I need not stay to point out how wealth follows increased production—wealth being understood as meaning, not the multiplication of money in the narrow sense, but of those things that conduce to greater comfort, convenience, and happiness. At present India, amongst countries, is very low down in the scale of wealth, and this, by those of her sons who are articulate, is ascribed to many causes. I have said that this is not a politico-economical essay, and I may say also that it is not a political essay. We have had a surfeit of politics and our fill of political economy, and by this time the body politic might have been in better health had we devoted more of our attention to industrial instead of to political development—that is, to the development of our ability to substitute the agency of the great forces of Nature for mere human and animal muscular agency in the production of wealth, and of those things which conduce to human comfort.

But it is no use to hope for any such development in the present educational condition of the country. For what do we see? We see a vast mass of intelligent but illiterate, hard-working folks, chiefly engaged in agriculture, but as years go on, in larger and larger numbers devoting themselves to other industries under the guidance of a limited number of practical foreigners. Alongside of them, but looking down on them for the most part with contempt, we see a smaller mass—perhaps 1 or 2 per cent. of the whole—who have availed themselves of such benefits as are ascribable to an English education. But the education in question has omitted to lay sufficient stress upon the fact—and we Westerns know it to be a fact—that the wealth of a nation lies in her industrialism. Our educationalists have taught history—or tried to teach it—literature, mathematics, and philosophy to masses of men whose forebears, when we others were dressed in woad, had already clothed

themselves in philosophy and mysticism, and who since then have thought and dreamt of little else—with the result that, taken in the mass, they are a poverty-stricken, short-lived, and from our vigorous Western point of view an uncomfortable and suffering, though patient, race of men.

During countless ages the Western world, as still does the Eastern to a great extent, jogged along quite content that production should be carried on by the labour of men and of animals. For hundreds of years the education of Europe was of a literary, two-dimensional character, in the hands of clerics and scholiasts unacquainted to an almost incredible degree with the real practical needs of the world. All this time Europe remained poor; there was no production of goods on anything that would now be considered a commercial scale; it took hard labour to earn a new blanket or a pair of shoes. But somewhere more or less a hundred years ago a number of strenuous, three-dimensional, practical men sprang up, and from then until now the practical man has been brushing the unpractical schoolmaster aside and taking the direction of the country's industrialism and education more and more into his own hands, with the result that we now see teeming Western populations of working folks enjoying comforts and conveniences that their fathers never dreamt of, and a splendid distribution of comparative well-being in Europe and America to which the masses in the East are still utter strangers. It must be a revelation to those who have not studied the subject to find how England, Germany, America, and other up-to-date countries, have supplied themselves with schools and colleges magnificently equipped, so that men of the wealthy and educated class may learn such practical science as, later, may help them to control factories, transportation, and industries generally. We can scarcely say that in India we have even the germs of any such thing, and it is a fact that what little we have of it is not, to any adequate extent, availed of by the classes whom we might expect to see interested in the direction and

guidance of masses of skilled but uneducated working folks. Indeed, we may well ask: What measurable influence can Sibpur, Rurki, Madras, and Poona colleges, and a few more minor places of practical education, have on the industrial development of a population ten times that of England?

I have already said that the new education, if adopted, will demand a heavy burden of taxation. But we are incapable of drawing wise conclusions from reliable premises if we fail to see that any such outlay cannot but be repaid in the few years which are spanned by the life of a generation of men. However, we few Europeans can do little more than throw out hints. The thing will fail of accomplishment unless it be taken up in real earnest by the leaders of public opinion amongst the Indians themselves of all classes, as the true road to real *swadeshi* and self-accomplishment. A great deal of rubbish is talked about the burden and hardship of taxation. Taxation involves no loss to a country as a whole, so long as either the money does not leave the country or else leaves it in exchange for full value. Taxation expended on school-houses, the paying of masters, prizes, books, and apparatus made in India is no more money lost to the country than his 2-foot rule is lost to a carpenter when he takes it out of one pocket to measure his work and puts it back in another. Our *swadeshi* industrialists—when they find time to turn from politics to industrialism—will, I hope, come to the conclusion that the new education, even if more costly than the old, cannot but bear fruit an hundredfold in the regeneration and the greater happiness of their race.

My contention—and I speak after some twenty years of study and consideration of this subject, and thirty-eight years' intimate knowledge of Indians of the working as well as of the educated classes—is that for people like the natives of India, whose thoughts have run for thousands of years on two-dimensional lines, a two-dimensional education is an education which fails in one

of the elements most vital to the needs of the country, and that it is necessary that the minds of a far larger proportion of students than have that advantage at present should be educated on three-dimensional lines. Under the present educational system, in use practically universally throughout India, ideas are conveyed to the brain of the student through the medium of his eyes and ears. But my view is that the only suitable education for a race that has got into the mental condition of the literate masses of India is a three-dimensional education which shall avail itself also of the sense of touch, and shall aim at conveying ideas of length, breadth, and height, as well as of weight, strength, and chemical qualities, and so shall offer to the youth who has it in him to develop industrially at least a chance of *recognizing that he has it in him*. We Western industrialists all know how a love of handicraft and of practical machinery came to us, not out of books, but through the chance of using tools and of watching machinery at work. The average young Indian of the literate class—say the son of a vakil, tahsildar, or office-writer—has a vague idea that all that sort of thing is the business of persons in a lower walk of life, illiterate, half-naked, and despised by him and his kind. Such being the case, how are we to expect the wealthy men of a community to combine and put their money into industrial enterprise, other than agriculture, when they are perfectly well aware that the young men of their own class are in a state of abject ignorance of anything of the sort, and that how easy soever it may be to get together a score or a hundred or many hundreds of clever artisans, it is practically impossible to find young men, of their own race and of the educated class, fit to handle and to supervise such labour when collected.

I have seen fit to use the unusual terms “two-dimensional” and “three-dimensional” education, and it may be considered necessary that I should define them. By the term “two-dimensional education” I mean education

as ordinarily conducted in this country, with the aid of the eye and of the ear, whether by the aid of black marks in the plane of the paper, or by the voice of the teacher who conveys to his pupils what he hopes will be correct ideas. By "three-dimensional education" I mean the above, aided by the sense of touch added to those of seeing and hearing, ideas being conveyed to the mind of the learner by the practical handling, shaping, breaking, analyzing, and measuring of materials. The man educated on three-dimensional principles thinks in the solid and in the concrete. He thinks of actual THINGS and of their qualities, instead of merely of WORDS, whether voiced, printed, or written.

And yet, in common estimation, the man who has had a two-dimensional training is considered—and I fear even by the officials of Government is usually considered—to be the more useful man of the two, and a native candidate for a tahsildarship who can explain a reference to the Constitutions of Clarendon and can follow a line of argument from Herbert Spencer's philosophy is more likely to obtain employment in the public service than his brother, a student of the Madras College of Engineering, who has been taught the principles of the flow of water, and in a scientific way has had practical demonstration of the strength of materials. I may say here that I honestly fear that, to the average educationalist of the English public schoolmaster type, as well as to the average civil official, these sayings may seem meaningless, and to savour of insane ravings. But I know what I mean, and if anyone fails to understand my meaning, may I be permitted to suggest that his lack of comprehension may perhaps be ascribable to the two-dimensional character of his upbringing.

In the adequate extension of indigenous industrialism by the aid of indigenous capital and under indigenous control and management lies the only hope of an appreciable enhancement of India's wealth and of an improvement in the material comfort and prosperity of the mass of her

people. But there can be no extension of industrialism on modern lines—that is, on lines where the muscular labour of men or of animals is replaced by the great forces of inanimate nature controlled by men's brains—until the upper classes, and more particularly those of them who have had an English education, begin to apply themselves to the practical handling of practical things. For the uneducated masses, however well skilled manually, are incompetent, in the absence of educated guidance, to organize industries on a scale adequate to enable them to undersell the products of Western countries. However, we have yet to see what the Tata Institute at Bangalore is going to do. I am told that the Tata Ironworks near Sini, in Bengal, are to engage about a hundred technically skilled Americans in order to make a start.

Nobody can be more conscious than I am that the treatment which I am offering to our patient is not a treatment which is going to make any appreciable change for the better in his condition in a year or two, or perhaps even in ten years. But I refuse altogether to accept it as believable that a patch of sticking-plaster is going to cure a long-standing case of diabetes. The underlying causes of the evil must be sought for diligently, and the remedy applied in good time. In my belief, the proximate cause of India's present failure to adopt industrialism on a scale anything like adequate to alleviate the poverty of her population is that her upper classes stand coldly apart from all interest in such development, partly or chiefly because of their pathetic belief that we are even now offering them the kind of education that has made us Western nations great and wealthy. There was a time a few decades ago when Indian students would almost certainly have availed themselves gladly of any kind of education that we might have offered to them. But our educational department has preferred to press on their notice the works of Shakespeare and of Mill instead of those of our modern scientists, as if India hadn't for long and dreary ages had a surfeit of

poetry and philosophy. Education in India must change its character radically if ever it is going to help the educated classes to guide, direct, and govern the labour of future mills and factories, as in the Western world they are directed by the better educated.

I do not hesitate to say—and I say it straight in the faces of the limited number of Indians who have been educated in all our engineering colleges—that if we Europeans, to a man, were to leave India to-morrow, and even if—an unthinkable contingency—the entire country were not immediately plunged into “anarchy and bloody chaos,” there would not be a single line of railway in running order or a single mill working fifteen years after the date of our departure. I mean, of course, if in the meanwhile neither any other Europeans nor the Japanese nor even the Chinese had stepped in. I am absolutely convinced in my own mind, from extensive practical experience, that every engine, every signal, and every piece of apparatus on every railway would gradually, one by one, cease to functionize through sheer slovenliness, disorderliness, and want of the “stitch in time,” and for lack of general *bundobust*. Here and there a good, clear-headed man might hold out for a bit longer and keep things going for a while; but at what we Europeans consider an early age, forty or fifty, he would break down physically or mentally, and the country at his back would have omitted to train anyone to fill his place. And yet, scattered everywhere all over the country, there might be found thousands of excellent workmen—excellent, that is to say, under good and orderly management. But good and orderly management of workmen is impossible unless the manager is himself an educated and orderly man, with an adequate knowledge of underlying principles, and ability at least to read and study the best and latest practice. Up to the present, with comparatively few exceptions, the classes in India who are prepared to avail themselves of English education; stand apart from everything savouring of industrial education—

not that we have offered them very much of it, or encouraged them to avail themselves of what there is of it—preferring to run after the will-o'-the-wisp of literary, so-called, education, and the many thousands of petty, and the few hundreds of well-paid Government appointments to which, in their wisdom, our rulers have practically closed all educational doors except the literary door.

In dealing broadly with a large subject, I have endeavoured to steer clear of making suggestions in regard to minor points; but I here break through the rule I have laid down for myself just to say that Government would be wise to offer a larger proportion of its ordinary civil appointments to men who have passed through well-equipped technical colleges, like the Madras College of Engineering, provided always, of course, that the candidate for employment had an adequate knowledge of English and of so much law as is necessary to begin with. At present such colleges cannot turn out more than enough men for the requirements of the Public Works Department. But instead of a dozen of such colleges all over India, there ought to be a hundred, and there ought to be not less than a thousand High Schools so equipped that a boy with manual industrial instincts shall have at least a chance of ascertaining that he has such instincts, and that it is his ardent desire to pass on to one of the higher technical colleges, as the average European or American boy finds it so easy to do if he feels that way.

I have referred to the very reasonable disinclination of Indian capitalists to put money into industrial enterprises in view of their recognition of the fact that there is at present no adequate supply of skilled, orderly, and educated Indian control for such enterprises—control which just makes all the difference whether the crowd of skilled working men shall be a disorderly mob or an industrial army marching to success. The subject of the necessary association of the capitalist and banker with the industrialist has been handled most ably and illuminatively by His

Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda in a speech made on July 12 on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Bank of Baroda at Baroda. I may be permitted to quote from His Highness's interesting speech as published in the *Madras Mail* of July 25, 1908, and to say: Happy is the people who have the good fortune to live under so enlightened a ruler. His Highness said:

"If industrialism is ever to obtain a strong footing in this country—and after all the first object for which every enlightened patriot of India is striving to-day is for the development of indigenous industries on a scale commensurate with the enormous demand of the country, and on a scientific basis sufficiently effective to ward off foreign competition—if ever the languishing industries of India are to be revived, I say, a preliminary step, or at least a concomitant step, must be the reorganization of our methods of finance, so as to centralize the countless dribblets of capital into powerful reservoirs, where their outlet can be controlled and directed into productive channels. The genius of the Indian peoples is not primarily scientific or industrial, and the competition of the West, with its scientific and highly-centralized organization of capital and machinery, has long since driven from the field the ancient crude methods of our forefathers, never to revive to any appreciable degree or for any great length of time. The obvious moral is that India, following the noble example of Japan, must set herself diligently to the mastery of Western science and Western methods in matters of finance and industries.

"I am perfectly aware that this is not a new gospel; and yet, as it forms, in my opinion, the keynote of future progress, its constant reiteration must go on until even the man of the street comprehends. No reactionary sentiment of mere reverence for the past will save India from the unrelenting pressure of foreign competition; no amount of emotional patriotism can drag us out of the slough of economic dependence. We must set our faces as a nation

grimly and patiently to master the methods and the implements that have mastered us. It is science against faith, and science will win. I reiterate, therefore, gentlemen, that the organization of such institutions as the Bank of Baroda has a deep significance beyond mere considerations of present expediency. The business aspect of the project has been eloquently presented by Dewan Bahadur Ambalal and Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas, and it is not my purpose to trench upon the ground which they have covered so well. But I desire to call your attention to certain larger aspects of the general movement, of which this bank is but one of the manifestations. I refer to the economic movement known as Swadeshism.

"Swadeshism covers, to be sure, a great variety of activities, and is capable of a great variety of definitions, but, to my mind, it is essentially a recognition of our national weakness in matters scientific and industrial, and a determined effort to mend. To acquire economic freedom is the end and aim of Swadeshism. And this can only be done by mastering the technique of Western industrialism. Industrialism, broadly speaking, is the application of scientific invention to the production and distribution of all the articles required by society to satisfy its wants. Inherent in the system, and inextricably bound up with it, are the scientific methods of finance to which I have already alluded. Industrialism needs for its purpose the joint-stock bank and the exchange no less imperatively than the machine and the waterfall. So that in my use of the word 'industrialism,' I shall be understood to mean not only machinery, the product of scientific invention, but also banking and the other agencies of credit, the product of scientific organization.

"What, then, is the significance of industrialism in modern society? and what results would flow from its widespread introduction into India? This is, no doubt, a large subject, and one that is fraught with many difficulties in its elucidation. But as it is possible that some of us

have not realized why and how industrialism is justified in the social economy, and what are its bearings, economic, political, and cultural, I shall attempt, without going into a lengthy dissertation on the subject, to make a brief analysis of its effects on Western society. Commerce in the olden days—until a century and a half ago, in fact—was limited to the products of agriculture, the hunt, and the handicrafts. Merchants there were who understood the value of organization and the reproductive functions of capital. But it was not until the introduction of machinery in the processes of production, and the widespread application of credit in the organization of industries, that rapid progress became possible. The ownership of the implements of production—factories and machinery—passed inevitably, it is true, from the handicraftsman to the capitalist. And it is sometimes questioned whether the process has been accomplished with any lasting good to the working masses. Certainly in many individual cases it could be shown that the workman has suffered in the loss of that independence from overlordship which is sometimes extolled as the blessing of the humble cottager who labours at his own hand-loom. But I am convinced that it is easy to exaggerate the so-called independence which the workman enjoys under a handicraft organization of manufactures. Assuredly the mere fact that the handicraftsman performs his daily task with his wife and children to assist him is no proof of real independence. As a matter of fact, the workman's hours of labour are generally longer, and his liberty of movement much less than under industrialism. The test comes when we inquire which system leads, on the whole, to the higher standard of living, the larger opportunity for the education of children, and the slow but steady development of the individual personality of the workman.

"I think that no one who has critically compared the condition of our handicraftsman of India, working from day to day and from century to century for the minimum

of subsistence, with the condition of the factory labourer of the West, begrimed it may be with soot, but nevertheless on the whole well-fed and well-housed, can fail to realize the economic and social advantages of industrialism. Industrial organization brings to the help of the labourer not alone the machine. This might not in itself be an unmixed good, for too often the workman tends to become the mere mechanic, the slave of his iron implement. But the overwhelming advantage to the workman and to all society of industrialism becomes at once apparent when we consider the diversity of pursuits which it brings, and the tremendous accumulation of wealth. We hear much in the West of the injustice of large private fortunes, and certainly there is much truth in these allegations against capitalism. Nevertheless, the substantial truth is, as anyone may discover who carefully studies the subject, that under industrialism private fortunes are growing ever larger, a larger proportion of the population is acquiring wealth, and the whole mass of people is lifted up to a higher standard of living. Private accumulations of wealth are justified, as also the competitive basis on which they exist, if it can be shown that the general welfare is enhanced thereby. Great fortunes under the industrial system consist not in treasure privately hoarded, but in stocks, bonds, and securities, and these are merely representatives of factories, railroads, mines, and other agencies of production and distribution, through which the labourer of all grades obtains his employment and his wages. The private fortune of modern times is therefore only nominally private, and all the wealth of an industrial society belongs in a very real sense to the whole people.

“What interest; what dividends it may be asked, does society draw from these possessions? In the first place, as I have already pointed out, society at large, including the humblest labourer, draws a larger wage and lives on a better plane than would be possible under the old handicrafts organization of manufactures. In the second place,

the accumulation of wealth makes possible the shifting of foodstuffs in tremendous volume from place to place and continent to continent, so that famine and starvation are comparatively unknown. In the third place, the agencies of culture, such as schools and colleges, libraries, museums, hospitals, galleries, etc., are increased *ad infinitum*, until they are brought within the reach of every class of society, even the lowest. The door of opportunity opens for the individual member as wealth is increased and disseminated throughout the community. The gist of the whole matter is this, that with the development of the industrial system mankind has learned to throw a large part of his burden on the machine. During working hours the productivity of the whole mass is increased a hundred-fold; during sleep the interest on capital goes on piling up. So wealth is produced automatically. Society at large reaps the benefit, notwithstanding the apparent injustice of so much luxury for the rich, while the masses are forced to work for daily bread. The masses will always work. The problem of every society is how to make the conditions of work as wholesome as possible, and to enlarge the field for individual development.

"It will thus be seen that the industrial problem has many bearings other than those which are economic in the narrow sense of that word. With the growth of industrialism in India is sure to come an enlarged outlook and an increased capacity of the whole social organism for things political, educational, and ethical.

"With the growth of industrialism craftiness and chicanery are bound to give way to an increasing straightforwardness of dealing between man and man. Numerous writers have borne testimony to the fact that the influence of science and industrialism in the Western world has lifted the people to a higher standard of commercial morality than formerly existed. No more convincing evidence of this fact could be adduced than the respect in which British integrity in commercial relations is held in this country. Furthermore, with the increase of private wealth

which industrialism brings is sure to come increased facilities for the spread of education and culture among the masses. With wealth and education comes increasing capacity for political affairs. It is an ancient truism that the good administrator must be a sound business man.

"It is my profound conviction, therefore, that the line of least resistance in the progress of India at this time lies in the hard study and consistent application of the paraphernalia of industrialism to Indian conditions. Only in this manner can we fit ourselves for the larger demands of statesmanship. And only in this way can we, as a people, expect ever to enter the haven of economic independence. As the West owes its progress of the last couple of centuries to the application of scientific invention to all phases of life, so India must look to the same formula. I do not in the least minimize the necessity of reform in the social organism and reform in the political administration; but change in these directions is apt to be slow, unless forced from beneath by an ever-increasing sense of industrial independence and economic self-respect, if I may be allowed to use such an expression. It is my duty to impress upon my people again and again that the development of industries and commerce rests primarily upon them. Without individual pluck, perseverance, energy, and foresight we are powerless to effect any solid and lasting improvement in the economic condition of the country."

I now arrive at the point of putting forward my propositions broadly for acceptance. What I claim is that—

- (a) Indian industrialism can never develop on a scale adequate for the needs of the country unless and until it can develop under the superintendence of qualified Indians.
- (b) How excellent soever may be the common workmen, they can never work successfully in large numbers unless guided and organized by suitably educated leaders.
- (c) These leaders must be Indians, if industrialism is

to extend on a scale adequate for the needs of India—that is, on a scale adequate appreciably to raise the wealth of the individuals composing the Indian population; for it would practically be impossible to employ Europeans, Americans, or Japanese in anything like sufficient numbers.

(d) But the Indian Educational Department is making no effort, on anything like an adequate scale, to give an education, suitable to the end in view, to young Indians of the better class, or to place it in their way.

(e) Educated Indians as a class despise and avoid education on industrial lines, preferring the literary education which leads to Government employment.

(f) But in the hope of removing this prejudice, Government ought to recognize a three-dimensional education as being at least quite as good as—I claim greatly better than—a two-dimensional education for equipping a man for its employment in almost any capacity.

(g) It cannot be expected that the few young Indians who possess a latent talent for industrialism will ever find themselves, unless a very large number of them pass through a three-dimensional education.

(h) The average English educationalist can scarcely be expected to know, without special study of an unfamiliar subject, how to set about devising an educational course, on three-dimensional lines, suitable for the present needs of the country. But there are men who do know, and they can be found by going the right way about it.

(i) The wealthy native of India, who now either hoards his money, or lends it on usury, or invests it in Government paper, or employs it in the mere merchandize of articles produced in

Europe, will not invest in indigenous industrial enterprise until he feels pretty sure that he can engage men, in considerable numbers, who not only know more than he does about the underlying principles of the intended industry, but have acquainted themselves with its practical operations, and give evidence of the possession of qualities necessary for the guidance of large masses of inferior labour.

(j) But at present he knows that such men are practically not obtainable, or at least that if he gets one and loses him his enterprise may fail before he gets another, whereas in Europe they are obtainable in thousands.

(k) Finally, if a man is to be a trusted captain of industry, he absolutely *must* be STRAIGHT, and must subordinate all other interests to those of his employer. Here, again, is a problem for the educationalist, but of a different character.

27. I think that this about finishes what I have to say. I cannot go into details; that is for the specialists, among whom I do not pretend to class myself. The above notes are of the roughest, scribbled down in the intervals of very heavy business.

The comments I desire to make, on what I hope all will agree is a most original and interesting paper, relate to the cause and the effect of the overwhelmingly literary and legal stamp and complexion which has characterized our Indian system of education. To do this, may I be permitted to quote from facts and figures which I collected more than a year ago when writing on this subject? * Passing by Macaulay's famous minute of 1835, which settled finally the question whether the system of education should

* *Vide* "Signs of the Times in India," in the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1907.

be in the Oriental languages and literature or in English, we come to Sir Charles Wood's pronouncement in his despatch of 1854. He and the Directors of the East India Company declared that the education they desired to see extended in India was that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe. Law and civil engineering, medical colleges and schools of industry and design are specially referred to, and the problem of "how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may best be conveyed to the great mass of the people." "Schools," they said, "whose object should be, not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life, should exist in every district of India."

But the practical application of these wise and enlightened principles became altogether lop-sided as the years passed by. The Englishman, with his natural bent towards the practical and material, remembering the gigantic progress made by his own country in the industrial and mechanical arts, in medical and chemical science and similar branches of knowledge, supposed that the natives of India would follow his example if opportunity were afforded them. But the natural bent of the acute and subtle intellects of the higher castes is towards literary, legal, and philosophical study, and is indifferent or antagonistic to scientific, medical, industrial, and mechanical investigation. It loves to deal with ideas as expressed by the written word, not with the nature of actual things that we touch and handle. To use Mr. Spring's metaphor, it prefers the study of existence in two dimensions, and not in three. Hence the demand of the Indian student has been for greater and greater facilities for literary and legal study, and until comparatively recent times, almost the whole educational momentum of Government has been devoted to meeting this demand, instead of

guiding the intellectual energies of students by professorships, scholarships, appointments, and every other suitable method towards those branches of knowledge in which India is most deficient.

An examination of the calendars of the different Indian Universities in 1907 revealed the following facts: The arts and legal graduates and licentiates whose names appeared on the books of the Universities numbered approximately about 41,000; the medical, engineering, and scientific were only about 3,000. There were barely 350 doctors and bachelors of medicine, less than 250 doctors and bachelors of science, and not 200 bachelors of engineering. One University had issued 36 diplomas in agriculture, and there was one solitary licentiate in sanitary science. A more recent examination of the calendars show Calcutta in 1907 passing 847 literary and legal graduates, and 147 in science and medicine. But many of 370 B.A.'s may have graduated in science. Madras passed about 1,700 literary and legal graduates, and 600 in science and medicine, including 568 B.A.'s in science. Bombay was ahead with 269 literary and legal graduates, and 200 scientific, medical and engineering.

Until about the middle of last century England itself was backward enough on the scientific side of education, and many thoughtful men lament that so much encouragement by examinations, scholarships, and fellowships is still given in our public schools and in the older Universities to the study of the languages and the literature of Greece and Rome. But in spite of the importance given to classical studies, which absorb so many of the finest intellects of the country, the claims of science have been represented by such distinguished names as Nasmyth, Clerk Maxwell, Sir George Stokes, Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh, Sir J. J. Thomson, Sir William Ramsay, and Sir Oliver Lodge. Cambridge is ahead of Oxford as far as the scientific side is concerned. In 1907 (omitting M.A.'s) there were apparently 219 literary graduates and 273 in mathematics,

science and medicine. In Oxford there were (so the Registrar informs me) 454 literary graduates and 95 scientific among the honours men. In the London University there were 295 literary and legal graduates, and 517 scientific and medical. In Manchester University there were 106 literary and legal, and 216 scientific and medical graduates.

That India possesses, though dormant and undeveloped, intellectual capacities suited to scientific study and discovery cannot be doubted. Over 2,000 years ago Indian thinkers had framed out the atomic theory, and had, it is said, found the proof of the theorem that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides of a right-angled triangle. In much later times the decimal system was perfected by some genius in India through the introduction of the special symbol or figure for nought or zero, and by attaching a value of position to each unit. One prominent scientific man at least is a native of India. I allude to Professor Bose, whose researches into the fatigue of metals under strain have obtained the widest recognition. May he be the forerunner of a phalanx of trained and educated Indians upon whom must eventually rest the burden of raising the standard of living among the peoples of India, by harnessing the powers of nature for the service of man. But to effect this a change must be made by Government, so as to enhance, in the eyes of the rising generation of students, the value of scientific as compared with the literary and legal education, and the educated classes themselves must follow suit.

THE LATE MR. JUSTICE RANADE AS A TARIFF REFORMER.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

It is just over forty years since I was appointed by the University of Calcutta—being at the time Professor of History and Political Economy in the Presidency College of that University—to be the examiner for the Premchand Roychand Studentship, one of the most richly-endowed scholarships in the world, in the subject of political economy. For many years subsequently I held that appointment, and also frequently acted as examiner in political economy for the M.A. degree of the Calcutta University, so that from that time to the present I have constantly been in close touch with all the movements of economic thought among the savants of India as well as in Europe. I have often stated my candid opinion—more than once in the pages of this *Review*—as an old Oxford graduate and a *çi-devant* Calcutta professor, that, in political economy, as in many other allied sciences, the average Indian student is far keener, more alert, and more accurate than the average English undergraduate. And where, in later years, he has not been dragged away from his favourite studies by Government service or by the practice of the law—the almost invariable fate of all the cleverest University graduates in India—he usually shows a far more open and cosmopolitan mind than the hide-bound economists of the British and Irish Universities, who go on droning away, with wonderful impartiality, all that is good and all that is obsolete in the teachings of Ricardo and Mill, just as if all the political economy of the world were confined to the sleepy and sometimes almost deserted class-rooms of the professors in Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. Professor Hewins—himself a most distinguished exception to the general rule of British

insularity, and obviously familiar with the economic opinions of the great world, and with some of the thousand other Universities besides the three I have named—has shown us, in his admirable articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," the historic reasons for the deplorable torpidity of thought on this one particular subject in the United Kingdom. And it is an interesting fact that, almost simultaneously with Professor Hewins' articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," a great Indian professor in the Deccan College of Poona was eagerly teaching, with an earnestness and an ability that have left their mark, deep and enduring, on Indian thought, precisely the same doctrines as those of Professor Hewins.

The scientific world is indebted, in the first place, to Mrs. Ramabhai Ranade, the widow of India's greatest economist, and in the second place to Messrs. G. A. Natesan, of Madras (who are, I believe, in a way the unofficial publishers to the National Indian Congress), for a handy little volume that gives us some of the best of the hitherto published works of the late Professor Ranade,* afterwards Mr. Justice Ranade of the Bombay High Court. For many of these essays, and especially the conspectus of Indian political economy that is introductory to the whole, show a familiarity with current and recent economic thought and work on the continent of Europe and in the Universities of Asia, America, and the Colonies that is in refreshing contrast with the twice-boiled cabbage that is so often presented to us as the concentrated "wisdom while you wait" of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. It is to be hoped that the publishers will hasten to keep the promise given in their preface to render accessible other lectures of Professor Ranade. For, as they acutely observe—

"Under the influence of the Imperialist sentiment,
the hold of the old orthodox idea of political economy

* "Essays on Indian Economics: A Collection of Essays and Speeches."
By Mahader Govind Ranade, C.I.E. Second edition. G. A. Natesan
and Co., Madras.

is gradually loosening, and a higher conception of the functions of the State is being more and more practically realized than was the case thirty years ago, when the *laissez faire* policy was predominant. . . . The time, therefore, seems opportune for presenting to the public the most matured thoughts of modern India on these large economical questions which call for immediate solution."

Mr. Justice Ranade's series of lectures on Indian political economy were first delivered in the Deccan College, Poona, in the year 1892, and it is most interesting to observe the satirical way in which he criticizes* the shallow pretensions of the self-styled "orthodox" Free Traders of the Cobdenite school in Great Britain and Ireland. He mockingly recites their "ancient and fish-like" shibboleths almost in the very words adopted—eleven years later, *bien entendu!*—by the egregious band of fourteen amazing British "professors" who, in 1903, chanted their famous dervish-like anathema against Mr. Chamberlain in the columns of the *Times*; and he declares that he could multiply these instances of learned folly—or, at least, folly that affects to be learned—almost without number. And, as if with a prophetic knowledge of the vagaries of the fourteen foolish heroes of Free Trade, he admits that the fourteen would be justified in their follies, even if serious statesmen refused to follow them, provided that political economy were a science of general and absolute truths, like physics or astronomy, or, he might have added, like the unknown science whose copy-book headings were flung at Mr. Chamberlain by the unfortunate fourteen in the columns of the *Times*. From what ridicule they might have been saved if only they had known something of Mr. Ranade's Deccan College lectures!

Mr. Justice Ranade then goes on to point out that—

"The dreams of Cobden and Bright, of Ricardo and Mill, that the civilized world would in a few years with one accord embrace their principles, have not been realized" (p. 5).

* *Indian Political Economy*, p. 293.

And he shows, by reference to all the chief commercial communities of the world, not even excepting the British, that the strong tendency of the time, 1892, and even before, was to ridicule the insularity of the belated British Free Traders. He shows that even in the time of Mr. Samuel Laing, sometime Financial Member of the Government of India, this tendency was undoubted, for Mr. Laing wrote :

“In spite of the Cobden Club, and of arguments which, to the average English mind, appear irresistible, Free Trade has been losing ground for the last twenty years; and nation after nation, colony after colony, sees its Protectionist majority increasing, and its Free Trade minority dwindling.”

And he makes an interesting point about Lord Salisbury, who, in 1892, was Prime Minister of England. Mr. Justice Ranade wrote (*Indian Economics*, p. 5) that :

“In England also, as you are aware, the present Prime Minister (Lord Salisbury) has declared himself in favour of what is called ‘Fair Trade,’ which is a modification (directed by political and economical considerations) of the extreme doctrine of Free Trade, with a view to restrict the freedom to those who reciprocate it—and the Liberals have denounced this lapse from orthodoxy as unpardonable heresy.”

These words were spoken by Mr. Justice Ranade in 1892—after all, only seventeen years ago. He speaks of Lord Salisbury’s views on these subjects as being well known to all his hearers at that time—“as you are aware,” were his words. I was myself in the thick of political work in England at the time, and I am at least quite certain of this, that everyone to whom I ever spoke on the subject had absolutely no doubt whatever about Lord Salisbury’s views, which were as Mr. Justice Ranade has here stated them. Wherever Lord Salisbury spoke with approval of Free Trade, it was of that Free Trade, of which both Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour are strong supporters, of which he was speaking, and certainly not that one-sided Free Trade which he himself publicly denounced as “the fetish of Free

Trade, which is not really Free Trade at all," and which his old colleague and master, Lord Beaconsfield, had denounced as "Freebooting."

With the memories of that period which are here recalled by Mr. Justice Ranade's words, it is difficult to understand how a few men of undoubted probity and honour, including even some of Lord Salisbury's own immediate family, can affect to look upon the late Prime Minister as a Cobdenite. Over and over again I have stood on the same platform with that great man as one of his keenest followers, and I do most honestly aver that it seems to me quite incredible that anyone who carefully followed Lord Salisbury's grand orations can entertain the smallest doubt as to the side he would have taken in the question of Imperial Preference, after the great series of bye-elections from Mid-Devon to the present moment have shown that the working-men of England are in favour of the Empire, that they do not believe it will cost them a farthing (and therein they follow Lord Salisbury himself), but that, above all, they are of opinion that even if it should chance to cost them a farthing a week, the Empire is worth it!

To me personally—and I believe to hundreds of thousands of other loyal Conservatives throughout the Empire—I confess that the threatened defection of the present Lord Salisbury, and of his most able and valuable brothers, from the cause of Imperial Preference to which I am convinced their illustrious father was devotedly attached, would be an Imperial calamity of the first magnitude. And Mr. Justice Ranade would have agreed with me, and been equally astonished.

Mr. Ranade later on points out very forcibly the vast gulf that separates the ultra-Cobdenite doctrines of the present day from even such writers as John Stuart Mill, Cairns, Walter Bagehot, Cliffe Leslie, and others. "Professor Jevons," he says, "was filled with much despair by the sterile character of the hypothetical system, that he thought the only way to cure its defects was to fling away,

once and for ever, the preposterous assumptions of the Ricardo school." His proof that Adam Smith was entirely in favour of Fair Trade, and altogether opposed to the monstrous excrescences of the Cobdenite school, as well as his fierce criticism of Ricardo, Malthus, Mill, and others, are of great and lasting interest; and his warm appreciation of Friedrich List, of Hamilton, of Carey, and all the other fathers of Tariff Reform, is extremely valuable. I shall hope to return to these, and many other remarkable features of Mr. Justice Ranade's teaching in another article. I shall conclude here with his most remarkable quotation from the late Sir William Hunter's appreciation of Sir Maxwell Melvill in his "Study in Indian Administration," in which Mr. Justice Ranade evidently considered that Sir William Hunter was ably indicating the immense superiority of the modern doctrines of Imperial Preference, both over those of undiluted "Protection" and those of obsolete and misnamed "Free Trade." Sir William says of Sir Maxwell, and Mr. Justice Ranade concludes his conspectus with this quotation, as giving the sum and substance of the whole matter:

"In economics he did not shrink from declaring himself a Protectionist of the American type—that is to say, an advocate for Protection, *not for a single isolated country*, but for a great continent like America or India, made up of a number of States, possessing within them the resources for almost every kind of production; indeed, for almost every form of human industry, and capable of a self-sufficing economic development."

It is obvious that the British Empire, consisting of the United Kingdom, India, and the Colonies, fulfils the conditions laid down by Sir William Hunter and Mr. Justice Ranade far more closely than any other political unit in the world.

RACE, CREED, AND POLITICS IN INDIA.*

BY A. E. DUCHESNE.

I WISH by way of introduction to take first the last division of my heading. As we understand the term in Great Britain "politics" represents the conflict between two (or possibly more) opposed schools of thought as to the precise way in which the national affairs shall be conducted. Historically, of course, the two great parties date back to the time when the Hanoverian dynasty was not yet so firmly fixed upon the throne as to preclude all possibility of a restoration of the exiled Stuarts. The terms "Whig" and "Tory" have undergone many mutations of significance, and are now probably obsolescent, but the fundamental idea of the division of the nation into two camps, each with its own ideals, its own plans, its own leaders, and its own rallying cries, is still extant among us. The method by which these two main parties alternate in the conduct of the national policy is one which seems eminently suited to the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race, and has certainly served very useful purposes in arousing interest in public affairs among the people, in providing, by the machinery of opposition, a useful check upon the possible tyranny of one party or one individual, and in affording, by means of the general and other elections, some rough-and-ready criterion of the nation's wishes. It is, we know, to the inter-action of these two parties, with the numerous subdivisions which have originated in the course of events or have been formed by the wills of individuals, that we ordinarily apply the term "politics." The parties themselves are known as the political parties. So universally recognized is this machinery of government by political parties that a schoolboy, being asked what were the three estates of the realm, replied: "The King, the Cabinet, and the Opposition." I am afraid the answer was not entitled

* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

to full marks, but it does contain a germ of truth—actual, if not historic or academic.

In India, however, we have neither historically, academically, nor actually, anything analogous to the political parties in Great Britain. As every one of us is aware, we have a congeries of races, speaking different languages, practising different customs, and following divergent creeds. Over them all, indifferent to the Babel confusion of tongues, unaffected by the variation in tribal habit, sternly impartial towards the difference of race or creed, is the *Sirkar*, that mysterious abstraction which, to the ryot, is represented by the "Dipty" or the "Stunt-Sahib," to the ambitious *literati* by the Viceroy, and possibly to His Excellency himself, by certain signatures penned not far from this chamber.

There is thus no room in India for "politics" as we understand the term in Great Britain. It is to be regretted that the term—with its associations with the hustings, with the election cry, with the invective of party dialectics, and with the see-saw of party triumph and party failure—it is to be regretted that this term has ever come to be connected with Indian affairs. It is impossible to strip it of its associations; it is supremely difficult to avoid imparting to it a tinge of that significance which it bears for the election agent and the designer of party posters. But in India we have none of this, and I could indeed wish that the Indian journalistic genius which has of late years manifested itself could have found a term more appropriate to describe what, after all, is the operation of an irremovable Government, modified by the legitimate expression of such genuine public opinion as may actually exist. With reference to the internal affairs of India, then, I hold, and I think in common with most of us, that the Empire has no "politics," and I dislike and distrust the association of the term with the realm of the "Kaisar-i-Hind."

If I dislike the association of "politics," the word, with India, much more do I detest the association of India with "politics," the thing itself. India has its problems, its own

deep, absorbing problems. To their solution may well be applied the most acute intellects, the most sympathetic spirits of our race and of our Indian fellow-subjects. But these problems have no connection with the political questions of the hour in Great Britain; still less is the key to their solution the monopoly of either of the great political parties. I have no desire to touch on any matters of recent occurrence, but I do feel that the Indian who relies on either political party to further his ends is a person almost incredibly foolish, however legitimate may be the goal he desires to achieve: while the Briton who prostitutes the well-being of this vast Dependency to the baser ends of political warfare is a traitor to the Empire. While the connection with Britain endures, Indian questions must be considered strictly on their own merits, and in that consideration Whig and Tory, Old Liberal, and Modern Progressive must all honestly join, laying aside all desire to make party capital, and actuated by the sole motive which merits respect—the determination to do justice to the millions with whom our destinies are now so irrevocably bound up.

In using the term “politics,” then, I wish as far as possible to clear it of all its generally-accepted significance, and to employ it, as colourlessly as I can, to denote the relation between the will and operations of the Sirkar and the needs and wishes of the people.

India may be regarded as a huge basin into which from time immemorial successive waves of population have flowed from the circumjacent areas. There was possibly, long ere the dawn of anything like history, an indigenous or aboriginal population, which has in most instances been driven to the hills. If this is so, we should recognize as remnants of such aboriginal races the Todas and Kurumbas of the Nilgiris, the Kandhs of the Eastern Ghats with their Meriah sacrifices, and possibly the Santhals of the Central Provinces and the Khasis of Assam.

Next, probably in order of time would come the people

recognized as lying outside or below the castes of Hinduism, such as the classes generally known as Pariahs in Madras, from which are recruited the sturdiest labourers, the coolie generally, and the servants of the European residents in that Presidency.

We next come to the so-called Aryan invasion. Here I refrain from rushing in where Risley fears to tread, but will only say that the expression "Indo-Aryan" is a convenient one to denote the type represented by the Rajput, and that, shading off through Aryo-Dravidians and Mongolo-Dravidians, we come via the Scytho-Dravidian type (including the Maratha Brahmin) to the Dravidians of Madras and the Central Provinces. Races exhibiting the features of these various types are to be found in the several provinces, and the ethnologist can still trace in these strata of population the characteristics which distinguish the types and indicate within certain degrees of approximation the specific immigration by which the type was introduced into India. Through all these groups runs, speaking very generally, the central thread of religious observance which by a process of fusion or average is styled Hinduism.

The other great Indian religion of popular conception and the census returns is Muhammadanism. This is, of course, the outcome of another of those recurrent waves of invasion to which India has been continuously subject. Passing over the early Persian invasions B.C., and the consequent Greek invasions (though these have contributed their quota to the medley of Indian populations), we come to the Muhammadan invasions, of which the record has been kept with tolerable clearness and accuracy. These brought in succession, Afghans, Moguls, and Persians. India, as known to the cold-weather tourist, is generally composed of fragmentary recollections of the most striking extant specimens of the architecture of the Muhammadan dynasties who beautified Agra and Delhi. But they did much more than this: they left us an inheritance which has lasted to

the present day. Much of our present system of administration, many of our Anglo-Indian customs, the general framework of our Indian army, a great part of our land tenure we owe to our Muhammadan predecessors. For some time we owed to them the language of court, of justice, and of camp, and I am by no means certain that the abandonment of the Urdu-Hindi and Persian in favour of the tongue of Mill and Spencer has been an unmixed benefit either to those who learn or those who teach. But be that as it may, I desire to emphasize the fact that even in their decay the Moguls were a ruling race. Possessed of the genius for empire, they, at their best, expressed it in orderly and impartial administration, and in the keeping of records to which India ere their advent was a total stranger. What the Roman Empire was to modern Europe, that the Mogul Empire was to modern India. The greatness of the latter is no more to be judged from the mingled pathos and tawdriness of those closing scenes at Delhi in the middle of the last century, than the austere majesty of the former is properly represented by the licence, effeminacy, and debauchery which marked the last days of Roman world dominion.

Just as the sun of British dominion was rising in India there was manifest among the rocky fastnesses of the western hills a stirring which in an almost incredibly short time had rendered the name of Maratha one of dread throughout Hindustan and the Gangetic Valley. From Poona and Satara northward through Baroda and the deserts of Central India, southward through Kolhapur and the Konkan, eastward even unto Calcutta, swept the Maratha hordes, bringing desolation and horror wherever they passed. From a little book on the "Bansberia Raj," by Shumboo Chunder Dey, B.A., B.L., of the Calcutta High Court, I take the following: "A reign of terror had begun in this part of Bengal owing to the repeated incursions of the Marathas. . . . Their very name struck terror into the hearts of the residents, and was used in the nursery to

frighten little children to sleep." The Mogul Empire was shattered into fragments by the strokes of these hardy free-booters. Of these fragments some remain to this day as feudatory states of the Indian Empire. Had not intrigue destroyed the unity, and British arms overcome the forces, of this rising Maratha power, there can be very little doubt that great part of India would have passed under Maratha dominion. But British rule was, under the guiding hand of Providence, steadily consolidating the scattered territories it administered. The Punjab with its militant Sikhs, Lower and Upper Burma with their semi-Mongolian Buddhist populations, successively became parts of the Empire, and we have India as it is to-day.

Sir Herbert Risley sums up the historic aspect of the case thus: "We may look in vain through India's stormy past for memories of a common political history and common struggles against foreign foes. Wave after wave of conquest or armed occupation has swept over the face of the country, but at no time were the invaders confronted with resistance organized on a national basis or inspired by patriotic enthusiasm. . . . The facts are beyond dispute, and they point to the inevitable conclusion that national sentiment in India can derive no encouragement from the study of Indian history."

The huge sub-continent with its population of some 300,000,000 of the human race still bears the marks of those movements of influx which have poured into it those successive waves of Dravidian, of Aryan, of Zoroastrian, of Persian, of Pathan, of Mongol, of Briton from over the *Kala Pani*. We still have the aboriginal, with his swarthy skin, his Animist faith, and his simple habits. We still have the Dravidian, with his worship of the local deity, and the Aryan, with his philosophic pantheism, his Gita, and his *Maya*. We still have the Parsi with his Zend-Avesta, the Sikh with his Grunth-Sahib, and the Buddhist with his phounghi and his doctrine of merit. We still have the Muhammadan with his Koran,

his magnificent devotion to God and His prophet, and his "stirring memories of a thousand years" of empire. We still have the fiery genius of the Maratha, which, as it once wrecked an empire, has more recently broken up a Congress.

Well might Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose write in the *Calcutta Statesman* of May 28, 1907: "India is not yet a nation. It is a congeries of races which are not always friendly to each other. We must not forget the ancient hate, the ancient prejudice, the ancient clashing of castes and creeds which still hold India under their vice-like grip."

The very proverbs of the people bear witness to this day to the enduring nature of these tribal differences. Among the Parsis such proverbs as: "An ass is unclean, a *chotli-walla* is no friend," attest that the two Guzarati-speaking races have very little kinship.

There are many proverbial expressions of this kind in use all over India. A common one among the Hindi speaking people is: "The Hindu who is summoned before a Qazi does not find he is a guest at a wedding feast." I imagine that I need hardly disclaim any sympathy with the sentiments expressed in these proverbs. I personally have many friends among not only Parsis, but also *chotliwallas* and Qazis. Nevertheless, the universal prevalence of such proverbs is proof, in a homely but convincing fashion, of the essential lack of unity in India.

What test of race or class shall we take? One faintly but delusively indicative of origin is that of language. There are some 147 vernacular languages spoken in India. Most of these are negligible from the present point of view, but among the principal are:

	Millions.	Per cent.
1. Hindi (in all shades) spoken by	60	or 20'00
2. Bengali	40	or 13'33
3. Bihari	37	or 12'33
4. Telugu	20	or 6'66
5. Tamil (with its relatives), ..	20	or 6'66

	Millions.	Per cent.
6. Marathi ... spoken by	18	or 6·00
7. Punjabi ... „ „	17	or 5·66
8. Burmese (and the allied dialects of the Shans and Karens)	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	or 3·00
9. English well or badly used by some 800,000, or less than	·27	per cent.

But the language test is necessarily very imperfect, since, for example, the Muhammadans generally speak the language of their neighbours. I well remember on one occasion trying to induce a very intelligent—and I am afraid far too wealthy—Khansama, to use a volume by “Shalot” (who is well known in India by another name), dealing with kitchen recipes, and written in the Urdu character. The man only knew the Bengali character, and was totally unable to read either English or Urdu, and I had to compromise on rough-and-ready translations of the English section of the book. Very much the same is the case in all the provinces—as, for example, the Parsis, who speak Guzarati, but have no racial or other affinity with their Hindu neighbours. The table does, however, reveal one aspect of the situation—the difficulty of intercommunication between the various peoples inhabiting the sub-continent. This difficulty is overcome among the English educated class by the use of our language. In view of the tremendous and undue prominence into which this class has recently forced itself, it is important to note how very small a class it is. Such institutions as the annual Congress, falsely, I think, styled “National,” would be impossible without the bond of union and vehicle of expression found in the employment of English for its debates. Yet at the last Congress in Madras Mr. Ibrahim, of Cape Town, in dealing with the grievances of Indians in South Africa, spoke in Hindustani, and Mr. Guru Chettiar, also of Cape Town, in Tamil. These two men are travelled and up-to-date representatives of their class.

Leaving, then, the differences of language, let us turn to differences of religion. The principal religions of India are :

			Per cent.
Hindu	...	...	70'00
Muhammadan	...	...	21'40
Buddhist	...	...	3'00
Animist	...	...	3'00
Christian	...	...	1'10
Sikh	...	...	1'03
Jain	...	...	'50
Parsi	...	...	'37

Here, however, a word of caution is necessary. Under "Hindu" are probably included many who are not Hindus, and who, like the members of the Dravidian Mahajana Sabha of Madras (or the Namasudra community of Eastern Bengal) declare that "There has been existing for centuries enmity and hatred between their community and that of the Hindus. The Hindus have been persecuting them in a thousand-and-one ways." These words may or may not be the expression of historical fact, but they certainly are of deep-rooted feeling.

But even among Hindus themselves (properly so-called) there are secular causes of variance and strife. The distinctions between Sivaite and Vaishnavite, or between the two main sects of the Vaishnavites in Southern India, are often productive of dissension and even of armed conflict. Such riots as those between the Shanans and Maravans of Tinnevely in 1899, or the perennial cow-killing differences between Hindu and Moslem which led a short time ago to the riots at Tittaghur, are instances tending to confirm Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's summing-up of the present position.

Even when, however, not leading actually to violence, these differences are continually producing complicated situations which require for their adjustment the utmost honesty, tact, and dexterity of the administrator. A recent instance in

which I became personally interested may serve to indicate what I mean. The Jains, who, though they aggregate only some 5 per cent. of the total population, are among the wealthiest traders in the country, are passionately attached to the memory of their Tirthankaras, or apostles. Certain hill clumps, of which Mount Abu, with its Dilwara temples, is perhaps the best known, are indissolubly connected with the Tirthankaras. One of these, that known as Parasnath Hill in Hazaribagh, is claimed by them as especially sacred, and as having been granted to them in perpetuity by the local zemindar or raja. A proposal to constitute this clump a sanatorium for Europeans aroused the Jain community to feverish activity against what they regarded as a vile desecration of a holy spot. I may mention that I have an acquaintance of long standing with certain of the leaders of the Jain community, and I was the recipient of many courteous visits intended to convince me of the justice of their case, and to induce me to support them in the columns of the *Englishman*. I thus became fully aware of the passionate feeling aroused among them. I was not, however, convinced that their case was irrefutable, though there is no doubt that they most sincerely believed in it. I accordingly arranged that the paper should be open to a discussion on the subject, in which both sides of the case might be stated. I further pointed out that, as their claim to an indefeasible right from the Raja was being personally investigated by the Lieutenant-Governor himself, they might well be assured that justice would be done, and that, meanwhile, I felt it incumbent upon me to refrain from any editorial pronouncement. I am at the present moment unaware how the matter was settled, but the generally peaceful Jains were certainly so stirred by the shadow of what they believed to be injustice, that I was apprised of an idea coming in among them that their well-tryed loyalty was not being rewarded, and that they might find it necessary to imitate the tactics of another set, whose skill in agitation has recently become notorious.

Another instance of what I wish to demonstrate is to be found in the recent history of Behar. This province is peopled by a race having very little affinity with the Bengalis, speaking a different language, and not, to say the least of it, exactly enamoured of their neighbours. Yet up to a short time ago there was scarcely a Behari in the various departments of Government service in the province. Why? Because we had made a fetish of competitive examination, and the Bengali among his many useful qualities possesses in a pre-eminent degree the faculty of passing examinations. This close preserve had the inevitable result of exposing the unhappy Behari to the domination of a race whom he detested. With boldness inspired by a true insight, the Lieutenant-Governor abolished the competitive examination, and substituted a system of nomination among suitable candidates by those who, like the Commissioners in charge, were responsible for the working of the districts. This was—not disinterestedly—attacked as a retrograde step. The Lieutenant-Governor was vilified as the apostle of nepotism, but results are already beginning to justify him. So delighted are the Beharis with the prospect of a responsible share in the administration of their own country, that they desired to commemorate their benefactor by a statue in Bankipore. The offer was declined, and the money is, I believe, to be utilized in founding scholarships to enable Beharis to take advantage of the prospects now open to them.

To go over to the Western Presidency: Some forty years ago there was a keen controversy among the Vaishnavite Hindus as to the lawfulness and desirability of a certain pseudo-religious custom which had long prevailed among them. The matter was decided in the final stage by a libel action in the High Court of Bombay.

Or, more recently there have been dissensions among the Parsis as to the desirability of including within the fold of Zoroastrianism the foreign brides of travelled Parsis.

In these and other cases the appeal has lain to the decision of the High Court.

The administrative division of Bengal affords many pregnant instances of that to which I aim at directing your attention. In Eastern Bengal the Muhammadans number some two-thirds of the population. They are increasing rapidly in numbers (at the rate of over a quarter of a million a year), while in both Bengals the prophets of the people are lamenting the stationary or declining numbers of the Bengalis.

It may be here noted that the two most prominent facts that appear in the latest report on education in Eastern Bengal are the steady progress of the Muhammadan community and the arrest in the decline of Hindu pupils which had manifested itself during the two preceding years. The number of Muhammadan pupils in public institutions has risen from 364,791 in 1906-1907 to 421,050 in 1907-1908, and that of the Hindus from 354,626 in 1906-1907 to 369,584 in 1907-1908. The fall in the proportion of Hindu pupils to the total, and the rise in the case of the Muhammadans, noted in the last Quinquennial Report, continued, the proportion of Hindus having declined from 47·3 to 44·9, and that of Muhammadans increased from 48·6 to 51·2.

Hitherto the Muhammadan of Eastern Bengal has been the victim of Hindu oppression. Well may an official document declare :

"The Muhammadans have a very profound distrust of the Hindus, whom they see at every turn exploiting them for their benefit, whether as landlords, as money-lenders, or in every turn of life where the Muhammadans are, so far as the Hindus find it possible, shut out from lucrative employment. The principal weapon—the boycott of European goods—is an intensely selfish weapon, by which the agitators compel the poorer people to pay the price of the pressure which they wish to bring to bear upon the Europeans ; and it is carried out by tyranny and oppression, and utterly regardless of the cost to the poorer classes, who

are made to pay. The Hindus frequently also treat the Muhammadans with great contumely and contempt."

These instances which I have laid before you are the merest commonplace to those of us who have spent our adult lives in India, but do they not tend to show how hollow is the pretension to present Indian *nationality*? Here we have Hinduism divided against itself; Muhammadan and Hindu by hereditary instinct antagonistic to each other; Jainism—that meekest of all creeds, which regards the life even of the meanest insect—fiercely self-assertive; Behari opposed to Bengali; Parsi differing from Parsi.

In all this there is to be discerned no trace of common nationality. Indeed, the factors in the racial hotch-potch which tend towards national unity are, so far as they are discernible at all, entirely due to British influence. These possible factors are: The common use of the English language, with the limits above referred to; common employment in service under the British Government; and common inclusion in the British Empire. These touch but a very limited group of the total population. We have seen how scanty are those who use English; obviously there are not many of the total population who enter the service of Government; still fewer are those who realise the privileges and responsibilities of Empire. Essentially India is still a land of divisions, of conflicting interests.

But if I stopped here I should give a totally wrong impression. I should, perhaps, produce the idea that India was a seething mass of open strife. You would possibly think that it was necessary for every man to go armed. Nothing of the sort. India is ordinarily as peaceful as Piccadilly, and there are few places within its borders into which I would not cheerfully saunter with a greater security than I should feel in parts of London. India is like gunpowder—a mechanical mixture inert in itself, but capable of producing a tremendous explosion if favourable circum-

stances present themselves. The mechanical mixture is prevented from becoming a dangerous compound by the presence of the British administration. If that is weak or lacking, then the explosion ensues. The tendencies are always there, and will be, I fear, for many a long generation yet to come. Once let the belief in the purity and power of the British administration disappear and there would be no peace in the land.

The problem of Indian administration, apart from the "daily round, the common task," is how to ensure an equal justice to all sections of the population, while at the same allowing a natural growth, an expansion of desire and ambition to have its just fruition among such classes as are conscious of such expansion. No one of British race—whether official or non-official, Indian resident or citizen of London—desires to check any legitimate ambition on the part of our Indian fellow-subjects. But the problem is complicated by the ever-present danger that in giving practical recognition to the desires of one section, we may weaken or even appear to weaken that sternly impartial British authority which is India's only safeguard against the jarring strife of caste and creed. The danger has a twofold aspect. On the one side the machinery which "Reform" shall introduce may be so operated as to place all legislative, and hence all other power, in the hands of one section of the populace. Please do not misunderstand me. The menace to India's prosperity would be as great whichever section were thus placed in power. To take an extreme and highly improbable hypothesis. If matters were so managed that the majorities on Provincial Councils were composed of Pathan mullahs, the Government of India would become impossible unless by a miracle those worthy mullahs were to become endowed with superhuman insight and angelic unselfishness. On the other side any tampering with the existing arrangements is extremely likely to produce the idea that the British *Raj* is losing either its power or its impartiality. In the former case, tribal

dispute being only kept in abeyance by the overawing majesty of British prestige, any diminution of that prestige must lead to an increase in factions, quarrels, and open breaches of the peace. In the latter we must face the possibility of having some sections of the people in a chronic state of discontent, while they watch in moody aversion the aggrandisement of the favoured class.

Yet we are all agreed that life means change, that stagnation and the corruption of decay are interchangeable terms, and that having half unconsciously poured the strong new wine of the West into the old bottles of the East we are bound to permit of such changes in the vessel as will allow for the due fermentation of our new, heady, liquor.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that there should be no rushing into experiments at the dictation of the literate few with the risk of alienating the many who are likely to be unaffected or adversely affected by such changes. Legitimate aspiration must be met, but there must be behind all attempts at such recognition an equally generous recognition of the rights of minorities—an inflexible determination to do nothing which shall tie our hands in the administration of that justice in the "faithful and indifferent" administration of which lies the only justification for our presence in India.

Great changes are in the air, and great statesmen are giving their minds to the task of so amending the present constitution of India as to give freer scope to those aspirations which we are assured are the common possession of the people of India. The task is a noble one, and yet one which requires the utmost circumspection lest the last state of the country be worse than the first. Very appropriate just now is Sir Henry Cotton's warning against "head-strong administrators, who are too apt to transplant the radical associations of our democracy into a country altogether unsuited to their growth."

There has recently been afforded in the unhappy country of the great Cyrus a striking example of the dangers

attendant on the inauguration in a land not yet ripe for them of democratic institutions and a system of representative government. When Persia first obtained its short-lived constitution, I ventured, in answer to the congratulatory chorus raised in India, to utter a note of warning and to express a doubt as to the smooth and efficient working of the constitution which had been granted. Events have more than once justified that warning. The unhappy land is now torn by internal dissension. Its territory has been parcelled out into spheres of influence. Its monarch has re-asserted his absolute authority, which, however, he is only able to exercise over a mere fragment of his nominal kingdom. Corruption is rampant, the magistracy is powerless, the taxes are unpaid, the roads are neglected and unsafe. No one's life is safe, armed brigandage is everywhere prevalent. Massacre and reprisal have been the order of the day. That bright Persian sun which was hailed at its rising as the harbinger of happy constitutionalism is fast setting, a blood-red orb, amidst clouds fraught with slaughter and disruption.

If we aim at introducing democratic machinery into India, let us at least have some prevision of the probable effect of our changes. To have anything like an electorate in India would simply mean turning the existing caste organizations into huge caucus groups moving in obedience to wires pulled by demagogic upstarts. Votes would be given to order, or not given at all, according as the leaders of the caste determined. The recalcitrant voter would be ostracized. The tremendous machine which exhibited its power in the quasi-religious sanction given to boycott would be employed to prevent such a one from eating, drinking, marrying, or amusing himself among his fellows. The powers by which the Papal interdict blighted England in the reign of John are still extant and exercised in the caste organization. The free elector would not exist, or if he did exist would do so with none of the amenities of existence and would terminate his life with none of the customary

rites. Votes to order are not unknown in that interesting country with whose endeavours to rise from its bed of chronic sickness we all sympathize. Turkey has just acquired a constitution. In Turkey there is no caste, but at the preliminary elections just held, an impartial eye-witness testifies that in the case of the Greek voters at village elections all the voting papers had been inscribed by the village schoolmaster, whilst the Muhammadans had theirs issued to them already filled up by the local hodja. Both sections, when asked for whom they were voting, replied conclusively: "It is written on the paper." When further questioned, they admitted that they had been quite content to leave the selection of names to the writer of the document.

But we can find an instance of the failure of an electoral system much nearer home. There has just been issued a bulky volume containing the report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. This report states that there is very little interest taken in the guardians' elections, so that there is no effective public criticism. According to a statement prepared by the London County Council, the percentages of the respective electorates voting at the last elections were: Parliamentary, 78·3; county council, 55·5; borough council, 48·2; guardians, 28·1.

The Commissioners conclude, therefore, that the system of direct election has not succeeded in giving us local authorities who have an adequate appreciation of the difficulties and responsibilities which beset the administration of the Poor Laws. Instead, they recommend that in future the members of the local authority shall be largely nominated from among men and women of experience, wisdom, and unselfish devotion to the public good.

If this is so, if in a certain direction the electors of England are unworthy of their privileges so that a system of nomination has actually to be recommended, have we any warrant for hastily superseding the nominative system in India. Certainly not in the history of the scheme devised

in 1893 for the Legislative Councils. This scheme was intended "to give representation to the views of different races, classes, and localities, through the medium of corporations vested with definite powers upon a recognized basis, or of associations formed upon a substantial community of legitimate interests." Under this scheme such bodies as the municipalities, the universities, the chambers of commerce, were to return members. According to a recent authority, the district boards have returned only 10 landholders, while they have sent up 36 lawyers; this out of a total of 54. The municipalities grouped together have, out of 43, returned 40 lawyers, 2 landholders, and 1 merchant. Thus, out of 97 representatives, 76, or considerably more than three-fourths, have been lawyers.

I give these figures, not in any way to deprecate the return of the skilful advocate, or to depreciate his services in council debate, but merely to demonstrate how extremely difficult is the task of providing adequate representation to the various classes of the population, even viewed from the vantage point of occupation. This difficulty becomes still greater, when we introduce into the problem the factor of race or religion. Lord Minto has clearly recognized this, since he has openly declared that "any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

The changes now contemplated will impose a strain on both the people and the officials. I cannot do better than quote from Sir Edward Baker's opening address to the Bengal Legislative Council on January 30 last. He said :

"On two recent occasions, when speaking about the great constitutional reforms which are shortly to be introduced, His Excellency the Viceroy declared emphatically that it will now rest with the people of India and their leaders to make the reforms a success. That pronouncement has been publicly accepted by the organs of public

opinion that I have seen ; and I myself will venture to express hearty agreement with it.

“ But there is also another aspect of the matter, and it is to this that I desire now to invite attention. I hold that a solemn duty rests upon the officers of Government in all branches, and more particularly upon the officers of the Civil Service, so to comport themselves in the inception and working of the new measures as to make the task of the people and their leaders easy. It is incumbent upon them loyally to accept the principle that these measures involve the surrender of some portion of the authority and control which they now exercise, and some modifications of the methods of administration. If that task is approached in a grudging or reluctant spirit we shall be sowing the seeds of failure, and shall forfeit our claim to receive the friendly co-operation of the representatives of the people. What precise changes will be made in the form of district or municipal administration are not likely to be determined until the Royal Commission on Decentralisation shall have presented its report. But as regards the Provincial Council itself, we know from the published papers the general outlines of what is in contemplation. These include a majority of non-officials, who, whether elected or nominated, are at liberty to speak and vote as they please; a large measure of control over the Provincial Budget ; the power of raising debates and moving resolutions on matters of public interest, and the right of putting supplementary questions.

“ It is manifest that the free exercise of these powers in the spirit in which they have been devised will impose a greatly increased burden of work and responsibility on the officers who will represent the Government on the Council. They must be prepared to support, defend, and carry through the administrative policy, and in a certain degree even the executive acts of the Government in the Council in much the same way as is now prescribed in regard to measures of legislation ; and they must further be

prepared to discharge this task without the aid of a standing majority behind them. They will have to resort to the more difficult arts of persuasion and conciliation in place of the easier methods of autocracy. This is no small demand to make on the resources of a service whose training and traditions have hitherto led its members rather to work for the people than through the people or their representatives. But I am, nevertheless, confident that the demand will not be made in vain. For more than a hundred years, in the time of the Company and under the rule of the Crown, the Indian Civil Service has never failed to respond to whatever call has been made upon it, or to adapt itself to the changing environment of the time. I feel no doubt that officers will be found who possess the imagination and the force of character which will be requisite for the conduct of the administration under the more advanced form of Government to which we are about to succeed."

With regard to the officers of Government my experience leads me to endorse every word of Sir Edward Baker's encomium. I have seen the work of the Indian civilian in times of agitation and stress, in times of widespread disease and plague, and in times of terrible famine and distress. If I may be acquitted of impertinence in associating myself with His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, I would say that in my poor judgment there are no servants of any Crown anywhere in the world who bring to their task more enlightenment, sympathy, loyalty, and judgment than do the members of the Indian Civil and allied Services. If the solution of the problem of adjustment to the new conditions lay only with them, we might rest assured that that solution, if humanly possible, would be found.

But there are others who will have a vital concern in these new arrangements. The peoples of the sub-continent will watch—those of them who are sufficiently enlightened to be aware of change. They will not only watch, but they will judge. I trust I am not unduly pessimistic when

I say that, whatever safeguards are introduced, the placing of an Indian member on the Viceroy's Executive Council will be regarded as impairing at once the strength and the impartiality of that Council. It must be remembered that legally the Government of India is the Governor-General-in-Council, and that this expression implies an entity, no part of which is separable from the rest. It must follow that whoever is selected for the Council the selection must involve in popular estimation the abandonment of exclusively British sovereignty in India. Further we cannot suppose that an unknown person will be selected. His opinions, his predilections, his race, his caste, his intimates, will all be fairly widely known. If then the Government of India decides on a course of action in accordance with these known elements of the character of the person selected, his own party will rejoice over a victory. All others will deplore the action taken and will declare the austere impartiality, the imperial aloofness from sectarian or racial strife, hitherto characteristic of that legal entity, the Governor-General-in-Council, has departed. It will be, I confidently assert, impossible to preserve the secrecy of debate, and should the advice of the selected person be overruled his fellows in caste are certain to know of it and to grow sympathetically bitter.

If, on the other hand, an unknown nonentity is selected there will at once be an outcry that the matter is being burked, and that what is being given in theory is being withheld in practice. Escape from this dilemma I at present see none.

The recent vigorous protests of the Muhammadan community have drawn attention to the very grave injustice which would have been inflicted upon them if the new council elections had been finally established on the basis first proposed. I have no desire unduly to exalt the Muhammadan side of the present situation, but I must bear witness from my own personal observation to the

self-restraint and statesmanlike qualities which the leaders of that community have all through the recent troubles most consistently exhibited.

Their protests are, therefore, entitled to the utmost respect, and it is indeed gratifying to know that that respect has been accorded them by both Lord Minto and the Secretary of State. There is some hope that through the tangled maze in which they are involved our statesmen may discern a way to ensure with safety at once the gratification of aspiration and the maintenance of impartiality. I am indeed thankful that it is not my task to search for that tortuous and ill-defined path, but I think as a plain citizen, with some knowledge of that ancient country in which we are all interested, I may be allowed to point out an imminent danger; that danger, to my mind, is lest our too eager politics (in the modified sense of the word, which I have already given) betray us, and accentuate instead of allaying that ever-present mutual jealousy of race and creed which it is our work to subdue to the welfare of Empire and the elevation of the masses.

THE MYSORE PRESS ACT: HOW TO DEAL WITH INDIAN SEDITIONARY WRITING.

FROM A BANGALORE CORRESPONDENT.

IF there had ever been any doubt of the deplorable effect produced on the average Indian mind by the regrettable laxity of the Government of India in regard to seditious writing in the Vernacular Press, that doubt must long ago have been dissipated by the pitiful appeals for mercy made by many of the student-victims of the anti-British propaganda in Bengal, who have pleaded that they have been misled by the mischievous writings of such notorious papers as the *Yugantar* and the *Bande Mataram*. All such papers throughout India habitually reproduce, in the various vernacular languages, the speeches of such men as Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Keir Hardie in England and their numerous imitators in Bengal and in the Mahratta country; and they frequently add the still more highly-spiced rhetoric of the so-called "Extremists" of India, who have hitherto made no secret of their "patriotic" desire to expel from this country the hated rule of the foreign tyrants whom they call Feringhees. Ever since the time when Lord Ripon's Government in 1881 repealed the provisions of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act it has been the settled policy of the Government of India (hardly ever departed from) to treat all sedition in the Native Press with contempt, and to trust to the common sense of the educated Indians, who must know perfectly well that their position is only maintained and rendered possible by the British power. That pretty theory, like so many other theories of the Ripon school, sounds a very plausible one, and appeals to the innate sense of justice of the British elector, who can readily be persuaded that East is West, and that the common sense which would rule us Occidentals must also have exactly the same effect on the Oriental mind. That

was precisely the difference between the Lytton and the Ripon policies. The Ripon policy would rule India as if all its peoples were members of the National Liberal Club, endowed with all the civic virtues of that home of the social democracy. The Lytton policy would rule India largely by Orientals, in the Oriental fashion, so far as may be. In the matter of the dealing of the Indian Government with the Native Press, recent events have forced even the most foolish Radicals—save only a few hopeless “cranks” in the House of Commons—to admit that the Ripon policy has utterly broken down, and has been the cause of untold misery both to the country at large and to multitudes of misguided young men who have been led into folly and crime by the silly nonsense about “village Hampdens” and “mute inglorious Miltons” so dear to hysterical Radicals. The breakdown, with its terrible results, has forced the Government of India to hark back to somewhat more sensible views; but, as an article in the *Bangalore Daily Post* strongly urges, Lord Minto and Lord Morley would have been better advised if they had condescended to adopt Lord Lytton’s policy *in toto*, by studying more carefully the Oriental character in their Newspaper Press Act. As it is, the safeguards and appeals and quillies and quiddities of the Act seem likely largely to neutralize its effect; and, indeed, the numerous deportations under the Regulation of 1818, that are now announced simultaneously with the sweeping concessions of Lord Morley’s Reform programme, seem to prove clearly enough that the Newspaper Press Act erred on the side of weakness, not so much in its intentions as in its methods.

What is thought on the subject by respectable and responsible Indian statesmen—not the small and uninfluential body of lawyers and schoolmasters who are content to say “ditto” to the factious appeals of Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Keir Hardie, but the men who by birth and training are competent to express a truly Indian opinion—is shown by the Mysore Press Act, passed in August by the Mysore Legis-

lative Council and confirmed in October by an overwhelming vote of the Mysore Representative Assembly. The exceedingly simple and straightforward provisions of that Act are well known to your readers. They depend on the traditional and inherent right and duty of every Indian Government, whether British or Native, to safeguard, in every matter of supreme national importance, the welfare of the people and the authority of the law. *Salus reipublicæ, summa lex.* The Mysore Press Law proceeds on the principle that the Maharaja of Mysore—who is a Prince, I may mention in passing, eminently qualified, not merely by birth and education, but also by every attribute of character and ability, and by the ardent and unanimous loyalty of his subjects, adequately to carry out the duties of his high office—has an inherent right to dispense with the presence in his State of those who are openly and avowedly endeavouring to undermine his authority as the immediate ruler, or that of the paramount power that is ultimately responsible for the maintenance of peace and law and order in his dominions. That inherent right—which in British India is manifested in the somewhat awkward provisions of such regulations as that of 1818—is expressly recognized in the wording of the Act, which is intended to enable His Highness the Maharaja to exercise that right and carry out that duty in the way best suited to his own dignity and to the comfort and satisfaction of his subjects. In every civilized community the purveyors of drugs and poisons, and many other commodities of which the unauthorized supply would be injurious to the public, are expected to satisfy the authorities that they are competent and can be trusted properly to exercise their vocation, and have to obtain sufficient certificates for this purpose. So in the principality of Mysore, those who purvey information to the masses of the people will in future do so under the *imprimatur* of the Maharaja himself; but, to widen the basis of his authority, and to deprive it of any shadow of invidious personality, this function will in future be exercised

by His Highness's constitutional advisers, the Dewan (or Prime Minister) and the Council of State, who will, however, in every case take the Maharaja's pleasure upon it. Without that *imprimatur* no newspaper will be allowed to appear within the limits of the State. If the permission be misused, it will be withdrawn by the same authorities and with the same formalities as those under which it had been granted; and in the extreme case of absolute contumacy—which is never very likely to occur—the contumacious persons will be required to leave the State, and their press and plant may be confiscated.

Now, all this is obviously sound, simple common sense. Here in the Mysore State we shall have none of those glorifications of truculent swelled heads that have been afforded by the State trials in Bengal, and in other parts of British India where they are possessed by the fear of Keir Hardies and the National Liberal Club. We shall have none of the heroic martyrdoms of puffed-up school-boys anxious to follow the example of Sir Henry Cotton, or the impassioned ovations of lawyer demagogues. If a journalist, from his easy-chair in Mysore, incites other people, more excitable and less wily than himself, to commit murder or to organize rebellion, he will himself be politely invited either *se soumettre*, or else *se démettre*—and, what is of far more importance, he and his lawyer friends will not be allowed, as in British India, to make the Government ridiculous and odious by prolonged casuistry skilfully devised to inflame the passions of the people. He must make his choice between good and evil promptly, and abide by the consequences. He is not to be permitted to invoke the protection of the Government for his own skin, while doing his best to induce others to subvert that Government. He is allowed to criticize the Government as much as he likes, if he does so without incitements to murder or sedition. To enable him to perform his public duties satisfactorily and with knowledge, he is given by the Maharaja's Government—as the head of that Government,

the Dewan of Mysore, fully proved by his speeches both in the Legislative Council and in the Representative Assembly—the excellent facilities of “the Press Room,” where all Government publications and explanations are furnished for his use. If any points of Government policy are obscure, or are not fully understood by him, questions may be asked and debates may be initiated in the Representative Assembly. Mr. Madhava Rao, in his speech to the Legislative Council, appealed effectively to the recent record of the Maharaja’s Government—its large remissions of taxation, its grant of free education and a Legislative Council, and a costly system of sanitation, its encouragement of the right of interpellation, and of free and open discussion in the meetings of the Representative Assembly, and its throwing open those meetings to the public—all popular measures showing the most advanced sympathy with the needs and wishes of the people. The Prime Minister went on to deplore the lack of a code of conduct and standard of honour among a small section of the Press of the country—a lack which he attributed to the fact that, as yet, “journalism is still foreign to the genius of India, and in the hands of half-educated and undisciplined men it may prove dangerous to society, as is actually happening before our eyes.” He pointed out that this pernicious section of the Press had embarked on a career of systematic vilification of Government and its officers, and of poisoning the minds of the people with untruths and perversions of facts. Not content with attributing to the Government of the Maharaja and to the supreme Government of the Paramount Power the vilest conduct and motives, it terrorized the individual officers of Government to such an extent as to threaten the actual demoralization of the administration. Quoting the *Indian Nation*, a reputable native journal, he showed that journals of the baser sort lived only on sensationalism and piquant personal abuse: “Their motive is personal grudge, and their abuse is personal abuse. . . . Their great satisfaction is that they

can sit in judgment over all the world, and can abuse men under the safe cover of an anonymous 'we.' ”

In the Legislative Council of Mysore, every one of the non-official members of the Council not only voted, but also spoke—and some of them very forcibly and well—in support of the Bill. The motion to pass it into law was moved, in a closely-argued speech, by the First Councillor of State, Mr. Ananda Rao, who is a Mysorean magnate of ancient lineage, and a graduate of the local University; and it was seconded by a Muhammadan non-official member, the Sayyid Amir Hasan, who, as his title indicates, is a descendant of the family of the Prophet. The non-officials who spoke in favour of the Bill belonged to various communities, including a Hindu barrister from one of our English Inns of Court, a Mussulman, and, of course, many Brahmans; and some of their speeches, notably those of Mr. Nagappa, Mr. Rangaiengar, and the Sayyid Amir Hasan, were so apt and convincing, that they were quoted and applauded by the Dewan himself, in winding up the debate in a speech of marvellous power worthy of either of our own Houses of Parliament.

One of the most telling passages in the Dewan's speech was directed against the absurd futility, from the historical and political point of view, of some of the pretensions of the Bengali and Mahratta agitators, who are all, almost without exception, petty lawyers or disappointed schoolmasters belonging to the lower middle classes of their provinces, which are the only provinces in the Empire where their pretensions could be long tolerated. The Dewan mentioned that, merely out of mimicry of the disloyal Mahrattas, some Mysorean schoolboys had been so absurd as to get up a demonstration in honour of Sivaji as if he were a national hero of the Hindus; and he pointed out, amid the cheers of the other Mysorean councillors, that the Royal Hindu dynasty of Mysore, worthily represented by the present Maharaja, had been potentates in South India for centuries before the upstart Mahratta free-

booter Sivaji, or, indeed, any of the numerous mushroom dynasties of the Mahrattas, had even been born or heard of. Of course, all his hearers knew full well that each of the short-lived Mahratta dynasties had been conquered by the British arms under Lord Lake and other British commanders; but in Mysore, when the British conquered Tippu, it was only an ephemeral Muhammadan dynasty that they suppressed, in order to restore the country to the family of its ancient Hindu rulers.

It may perhaps be observed by a follower of Mr. Keir Hardie and Sir Henry Cotton—if those gentlemen still possess any followers in England after the recent outrages—that the Mysore Legislative Council is after all a nominated body, and that consequently it may be suspected of aristocratic tendencies hostile to a free Press. But that reproach cannot, at any rate, be levelled against the Representative Assembly, which voted on this Bill in October last. Out of the 173 members of that great popular body present on this occasion—representing every class in the community—Brahmans, landowners, farmers, peasants, lawyers, schoolmasters—the vast majority has been freely and openly elected by the people of the Mysore State. A full and most interesting summary of every speech in this debate is given in the recently-published Proceedings of the Mysore Representative Assembly, printed at the Government Press in Bangalore, 1908, and issued to the public at the price of one rupee; and many of the more important speeches are given *in extenso*.

I should like to say of this Blue-book—which may be called the Mysore “Hansard” for 1908—that if the discussions in Lord Morley’s newly-enlarged Councils in British India are half as sensible, as moderate and reasonable, and as practical, as this Mysore debate on such a thorny subject as a Press Act is shown to be herein, it will amply justify Lord Morley’s action. And throughout the other debates of the Session the proceedings are marked by a decency and sincerity that might give a lesson to St. Stephen’s.

Nothing could be more courteous and conciliatory, as well as dexterous and tactful, than the management of this great assembly by the Dewan ; and when one considers the comparatively slender political experience of the members—for the system of triennial elections in Mysore only dates from 1894—their conduct and language would not do discredit to the British Parliament, and might well be studied by those British members of Parliament who make themselves conspicuous in Indian debates at Westminster. Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Keir Hardie, and their friends have always hitherto held up Mysore—and very rightly—as the “ Model Indian State ” that can show us how well Indians can manage their own affairs ; but they have omitted to state that Indian management, to be successful, must be Indian, and not Tooley Street in character. That is to say, it must be strictly aristocratic, feudal, and patriarchal, and must not attempt to place petty lawyers and school-masters to rule over and insult an ancient aristocracy. Even in Bengal it is doubtful whether men like the Maharaja of Benares or the Maharaja of Burdwan would be greatly pleased at being ordered about by the Boses and Ghoses of “ New Bengal.” And certainly, anywhere else in India such a system could only end in disaster.

These considerations—which will sound like common-places to any intelligent Englishman who has lived more than a dozen years among the people, in any province of India—are admirably brought out and illustrated in the debate on the Press Act in the Mysore Representative Assembly. Between August, when the Act was passed in the Legislative Council and assented to by the Maharaja, and October, when the Session of the Representative Assembly was held, three Mysore newspapers had “ put on the cap,” and voluntarily ceased to appear—and one vernacular fortnightly had been refused permission. But with these insignificant exceptions, the whole of the Mysore newspaper Press had accepted the views of the State Government with loyalty, and are at the present moment

more flourishing than ever. Of course, the heroism and the shocking martyrdom of the two or three recalcitrants have been loudly trumpeted by Sir Henry Cotton's disciples in other parts of India; but barring this necessary "letting-off of steam," no one seems a penny the worse. And when the subject came up for discussion in the Mysore Representative Assembly in October, only three or four lawyers from the towns of Bangalore, Mysore City, Shimoga, and Tumkur had a word to say against the enactment; and the main objection taken by these gentlemen was, that the law was unnecessary because the Maharaja already possessed inherently the powers now conferred on his Government! A Muhammadan Maulavi from Mysore City, Mr. Dervish Peer, declared that "Government should have passed such a regulation years ago," and that "matters had now come to such a pass that further toleration would be a danger to the safety of the State." Every landholder that spoke—and out of the 271 elected members of the Assembly, 111 are landholders—supported the Bill. Eventually, when the voting came, out of 173 members present only 36 were found to oppose the Bill; and no fewer than 63 members, headed by an influential delegate named Mr. Hasan Ali Beg, felt so strongly about it, that they presented a special address to the Dewan, signed by all of them, in which they warmly supported the measure, and thanked the Maharaja's Government, and the Dewan in particular, for their public spirit in passing it into law.

I have no doubt whatever that the vast majority of intelligent people in South India are in cordial agreement with the terms of this Mysore address, and believe that before long the Government of India will be compelled by the force of events to assimilate the Press Law of British India to that now current in Mysore. For the last seventeen years a Press Law in precisely similar terms has been in existence in the "civil and military station" of Bangalore, which is in the nature of British territory shut up within the *enclave* of the Native State of Mysore, and in

that territory the mere existence of the law has been sufficient to secure its observance, for it has never once had to be put in force. The same happy fate attended Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act of 1878, which was so effective as a deterrent that, up to the time when it was repealed by Lord Ripon, there had never been any necessity to apply its punitive provisions. When will the Liberal party learn that responsible Indians with a stake in the country, like the rulers and Parliament of Mysore, are more to be trusted than the busybodies and nobodies, and hungry aspirants for official billets, that imitate Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Keir Hardie, and orate at meetings of the National Congress or the British Parliamentary Committee?

WAS LORD CURZON'S INDIAN POLICY A SUCCESS?

BY F. ABRAHAM.

RARELY does the general public remember the services rendered to England by her English subjects in India, the power enjoyed by those subjects in high places, and the difference made in their lives on laying down that power.

To a great many Lord Curzon of Kedleston is now little more than a name. They barely recollect that he was Viceroy of India, that he had the reputation of being a wise, if autocratic, ruler, and that he fell foul of a popular hero, Lord Kitchener.

They remember, perhaps, that when he went to India with a brilliant career behind and before him, as one of the youngest Viceroys, and the first commoner to be made Viceroy of India, all eyes were upon him, and great things were expected of him. They may recall an impression that in some manner he had fallen short of the expectations formed of him.

England is proverbially ungrateful to her best men. For some reason best known to herself, she does not stand by them—a fact at which Americans never cease to wonder. She endeavours to tie them hand and foot, and if they struggle resolutely to get free, to have a free hand, untrammelled by prejudice, with which to further her interests, she denounces them as “autocratic”; if they follow the dictates of their conscience, however unpopular these may be, she becomes chilly, and professes to be disappointed in them.

It is so easy to criticize those in power, without troubling to find out exactly what their responsibilities are, or the peculiar circumstances by which their term of office may have had to be guided. It is still more easy to criticize when the sun of their power has set—only for a time, let us hope, in Lord Curzon's case.

After an unusually brilliant career at Oxford, he became Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Salisbury in 1885, and Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1895. In the latter year he received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, having travelled to some purpose in Persia, Afghanistan, the Pamirs, Siam, Indo-China, and Korea. So unique is the knowledge he gained in Persia that he was referred to in the *Nineteenth Century* as "our greatest expert on Eastern politics," and his book on the subject is looked upon as a classic. He was Conservative member for the Southport Division, South-West Lancashire, from 1886 to 1898, when he was created first Baron Curzon of Kedleston, Ireland, his birthplace. In 1895 he married one of the beautiful and wealthy daughters of Mr. L. Z. Leiter, of Washington, and in 1899 he was appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of India at the early age of forty.

Lord Curzon may be looked upon as the first to have won his way to this position by sheer merit, and it was this very training that made him shake off the influence of what is called the Indian Bureaucracy, and so win a certain measure of unpopularity which has done much to obscure the real greatness of the man. Complaints were frequent, especially from the Liberal, Socialist, and Bengali quarters, that he would not take the advice of those whose experience in India was longer and more expert than his. No statement could have been more unjust. He courted every possible inquiry on all subjects, listened to every point of view, and with a grasp of detail and ripeness of judgment that is plainly apparent in all his speeches, he formed his own conclusions, and carried them through, only modifying them, if necessary, according to the peculiarities of the complex Hindu nature.

SOCIALIST OPPOSITION.

The Indian National Congress at that time consisted for the most part of eloquent but short-sighted Bengalis and Mahrattas of Radical tendencies, who opposed Lord Curzon whenever possible. They in turn were opposed by the educated Mohammedans, who were undoubtedly their intellectual superiors, if one may judge by their writings. In 1905 some open letters to Lord Curzon, attacking his Indian policy, were written by an old Brahmin, Śivaśambhu Śarmā, and translated from the *Bharat Mitra*. The language of this booklet is dignified and poetical, but it is full of unnecessary hyperbole, and slips once or twice in every few pages into some unexpected slang term in a way that suggests Babu literature. It is the Babu of Bengal who writes the seditious nonsense sometimes reprinted in our newspapers, and whose socialistic valour shows itself in murdering Englishmen in railway-trains, or throwing bombs at Englishwomen in the street. This is the class that would rule India, and that claims for this end what is called popular government.

The great majority of the natives of India, especially the well-educated Mohammedans of good birth, persistently dissociate themselves from this movement. Hence it is very interesting to read the letters of the Brahmin, Śivaśambhu Śarmā, and afterwards to compare them with the "Desultory Notes on Lord Curzon's Work in India," by Krishnachandra Raza, and "Lord Curzon's Administration in India," by Sardar 'Alī Khān, both professed Mohammedans. These Indian opinions are most important, inasmuch as it was the Indians themselves whose good opinion Lord Curzon valued, even before that of his own people.

The Brahmin complains of the Viceroy's tendency to pomp and display; to offer a stone instead of bread to the overtaxed people. Repeatedly he is said to boast of his

"two deeds of splendour"—the Victoria Memorial and the Delhi Durbar. These things, declares the Brahmin with much plausibility, do not help the poor. All the symbols of pageantry, he claims, are only lent to the Viceroy by the Indian Princes, and do not belong to him. The statues to the Queen and Lord Lansdowne are put up with the money of the poor, and are only "resting-places for Bulbuls." This simile is taken from a fantastic legend about the dream of a boy who sought to possess Bulbuls, as Lord Curzon was supposed to long for power and display, and occupies several pages. He has, however, a good word to say for Lord Ripon's statue and the Proclamation of the Queen in 1858, which is, he says, a far better wall to protect the country than the military wall that Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener are seeking to put up at the people's expense.

Śivaśambhu Śarmā claims to be the people's representative. He complains bitterly that, while he and they have no cottage or piece of ground to call their own in their own land, they are yet obliged to find the money—in taxation—to construct boundary walls of steel against the enemy, that the Viceroy and his successors may have better security in which to enjoy "luxury and amusement, plays and dances, balls and sleep." Lord Curzon, he declares, understands nothing of the country, and India can never be governed by such methods. (Yet those who know India and the Indians do not need to be told how much the great majority of Indians love the displays of their chiefs.) The Brahmin claims that the Indians are as well fitted for high posts as the English, and better, but all who read their papers to-day will know how signally the Bengalis, at any rate, have failed to prove this. Lord Curzon is accused of having passed six years without gaining the people's love. "There are yet two years," says the wily Brahmin, "in which to gain the affection of thirty crore of hearts, and go down to posterity as the best of Viceroys."

OPINION OF EDUCATED MOHAMMEDANS.

After this it is refreshing to turn to books containing solid facts without embroidery. Krishnachandra Raza, in his "Desultory Notes," quotes Lord Curzon's own words: "I am a believer in taking the public into the confidence of the Government, for the more they know, the more may we rely on their support." And from an English opinion given in a paper called "A Progressive Viceroy": "Lord Curzon has undoubtedly given offence to many high officials. Unlike many of his predecessors, he refuses to wear the trappings of custom, or to be driven along official grooves, and his constitution has withstood the opiate of Simla." The Mohammedan goes on to say that his watchwords are "Courage" to grapple with the problems of Government, and "Sympathy" with every race, class, and creed; "and if to these are added British justice and consideration, you have a key which will open every Indian heart." *Hindi Punch* presents him in caricature as a "Colossus of Words," but it will presently be shown that he was by no means without deeds. His first year in India was the most difficult, as he "had to face war, indirectly, in South Africa, and famine and plague directly."

THE GREATEST FAMINE OF THE CENTURY.

To quote from one of his Budget speeches: "During the famine of 1897, Lord Elgin said, on January 14, that one and a quarter millions of people were on relief. In the present week, January, 1900, nearly three and a quarter millions are on relief." England, he pointed out, had been able to help in Lord Elgin's time to the extent of hundreds of thousands of pounds; "now war engrosses all her thoughts, and we must suffer and struggle alone." In his call for the co-operation of the natives he points out that "to relieve the Indian poor from starvation and to save their lives, British officers have freely sacrificed their own." One month later, three and three-quarter millions were on

relief, private donations having been solicited by him, and he was able to announce that the "famine mortality was nearly repressed." A great undertaking, surely, in view of the fact that this was by far the largest famine ever known under British rule, and that his first year was marked by the conquest of it. Needless to say, it was impossible to lower taxation in such circumstances; but the Mohammedan writer quotes from an Indian paper devoted to Indian interests: "In nearly twelve months he (Lord Curzon) fed six millions of starvelings, without adding a rupee to the permanent debt of the country." Such an achievement ought to speak for itself.

HIS MEASURES FOR PLAGUE.

His opinion of the right measures for dealing with plague show true tact and consideration for the Indian people. "The head of the Government of India ought, in my judgment, not to be a mere passing phantom who comes and goes amid the pageantry of processions and the firing of salutes. The interests of all India are his interests; the salvation of India is his duty. There is none so humble or so remote, or, for the matter of that, I may say, there is none so wealthy and independent as not to come within the legitimate scope of his care." In the August of 1900 he tried to bring in Compulsory Examination, Railway Inspection, Disinfection, Segregation of Contacts, etc., doubtless on the advice of one or two of the finest plague experts in the world; but finding that these hard-and-fast rules went against the grain of the Indian people, and especially of the Hindus, he modified them, greatly to the general relief. This modified treatment he summed up in two rules:

1. "The campaign against plague, to be successful, cannot be a campaign of compulsion; it can only be a campaign of moral suasion."
2. "These troubles that have come upon you can only be successfully overcome by co-operation between the

officers of the Government and the influential members of the Indian community."

DIFFERENCES OF CASTE.

To the subject of differences of caste he gave much thought, and enough has already been said to show that, although a "Colossus of Words," he did his utmost while in India to practise what he preached. Educated Hindus and Mussulmans of good descent expect to be treated in their own country as the equals, at any rate, of the non-official section of Englishmen, many of whom create bad blood by not understanding this. "Any administrator," said Lord Curzon, "who in his time can feel that he has done something to draw closer together the ties between rulers and ruled in this country, and to bring about that sympathy that can only result from mutual knowledge, may go away with a consciousness of not having altogether failed."

MILITARY REFORM.

The military expenditure, which was ever increasing, was a source of much discontent among the Liberals. "Starving India," says Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, "is being used to feed, train, and equip great bodies of troops for employment outside India." He overlooked the fact that many of the native Princes came forward with eager offers to send troops to South Africa in their desire to express their loyalty to England, and that these offers were in many cases refused, on the ground that the quarrel was strictly between Boer and Briton. Eight thousand British troops, however, did go to the front, and Lord Curzon's opinion on the subject as summed up by the Mohammedan writer, is practical enough.

When Mr. Chitnavis, a member of the Supreme Legislative Council, suggested a reduction of military expenditure, Lord Curzon at once replied that it would be impossible, in his time.

"The first result of the Transvaal War will, I firmly

believe, be an increase in the Budget of every military nation in the world, in respect of armament and other questions of the whole science and practice of war. The question is, if two small Republics could stand up for four months against the main strength of the British Army, and could put the British nation to the expense of one hundred millions sterling, are *we* to stint the annual expenditure that may be required to protect the vast Empire of India against the infinitely more formidable dangers by which she may one day be threatened? Is it any argument that because for a few months we have been able to spare eight thousand of our British troops for South Africa, the British garrison in India can be permanently reduced by that amount? . . . Because a man lends for a night the watchdog that guards his house, does it follow that his own house would get on in future without protection? There is always some risk in denuding India of any considerable portion of her garrison. . . . My greatest ambition is to have a peaceful time in India, and to devote all my energies to the work of administration and material development. . . . Chaos is almost sure to ensue, were the British arms, on or beyond the frontier of India, at any time to experience a serious disaster." These last words were practically the opinion of Lord Dufferin, expressed fourteen years ago, and Lord Curzon decided that one million sterling would be necessary, during the forthcoming year, for military reform.

It was largely due to Lord Curzon's desire for an efficient army in India that Lord Kitchener was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and never at any time could the latter have had to complain of insufficient funds. These were constantly increased, in the face of perpetual Liberal complaints. In his Budget speech of March 30, 1904, almost two years after Lord Kitchener's arrival, Lord Curzon says: "We are fortunate in possessing as Commander-in-Chief the first soldier in the British Army. He comes to us here with his unrivalled experience and

energy. . . . The military expenditure is going up . . . 484 British officers have been added." And in the Budget speech of March 29, 1905, he says: "The lesson of the Russo-Japanese War is surely the most supreme vindication of preparation for war as contrasted with unreflecting confidence, that modern times have ever seen. The Commander-in-Chief has not only presented us with a scheme which is the ripe product not only of his own great experience, but of years of discussion and anticipation in India itself, and whose sole object is so to organize our forces in peace as to place the largest possible body of men, with the least dislocation, in the field in time of war. Until universal peace reigns, which will not be in our day, the best custodian of his own house will still be the strong man armed; and the Government of India, assured that they have the means, and reposing confidence in the ability of their military advisers, have accepted the scheme submitted to them, not without careful scrutiny of its features and details, but in the conviction that the heavy charge entailed will be repaid in the increased security that will be enjoyed by the country."

DIFFERENCE WITH KITCHENER.

No one reading these words, and realizing the amount of the military expenditure, can help noting that Lord Curzon was not only helping to further Lord Kitchener's aims to the best of his power, but was also giving him a very free hand. In view of this, and of the peace that had reigned under Lord Curzon's régime, it was the more surprising that Lord Kitchener should immediately afterwards have chosen to assume entire control of the army, without reference to the Governor-General, who had previously been taken into all Army Councils through his military adviser. According to Sir Thomas Raleigh, this adviser, who was an Ordinary member of Council, had always to be an officer, though without command during his term of office. The Secretary of State had the power to

appoint the Commander-in-Chief to be an extraordinary member of Council, but to this arrangement Lord Kitchener had objected as far back as 1902.

He wished to be the head of the Army Department himself, and to have sole control of it, and when he dismissed the Ordinary member of Council without consulting the Viceroy, the latter not unnaturally looked upon such an unprecedented step as a dangerous revolution. For him to be kept out of all Army Councils, after what he had done to improve the Indian army, was bad enough ; but beyond this, there was doubtless the same feeling so many people have about the average surgeon—that he is only too ready to use the knife—so with the “absolute” military man, that he is only too ready for war, and needs some civil check, and that some cognizance of his movements is absolutely necessary.

There were not wanting many who said that Lord Curzon, autocrat as he was, could not brook the power of Lord Kitchener from motives of jealousy, but this might have been said with just as much, and possibly more, truth of Lord Kitchener. Be that as it may, the finer nature of Lord Curzon was destined to come up against the sledgehammer character of Lord Kitchener, and the former, realizing that his term of office was nearly over, and that the Home Government was tottering to its fall over Tariff Reform, and could not give the matter proper consideration, resigned in the August of 1905.

TAXATION.

On the subject of taxation, Lord Curzon was most bitterly attacked by the English Liberals and the Bengali Socialists. He is spoken of by Mr. O'Donnell as a “would-be reformer, a restless upsetter.” He is accused of “slapdash surface knowledge and unreliability in statistics and politics,” though how anyone, with any sense of justice, could accuse a brilliantly clever man who had devoted the best years of his life to the study of the East, of slapdash surface know-

ledge, it is difficult to understand. "Prosperity," says Mr. O'Donnell, "is evident on the lines of railway to the passing tourist, but two hundred millions are starving on the 'veldt.' The Indian merchant is lightly taxed, but the poor agricultural classes are taxed annually on nearly all the land to an extent that equals 55 per cent. income tax." In the same style, Lord Curzon is accused of having, it is said, "stellenbosched" one or two who dared to bring this state of affairs to his notice, and of having turned a deaf ear to all appeals. Indeed, he was inhuman enough, according to Mr. O'Donnell, to organize the great Delhi Durbar at the people's expense. What is forgotten by those who hold these violent and ill-judged opinions is that the Delhi Durbar was a fitting demonstration on the part of India to celebrate the accession of her first Emperor, that the Durbar expense amounted to £200,000, and that the burden of this on the people amounted to one-sixth of a penny per head. This is the statement of Sir Thomas Raleigh, legal member of the Governor-General's Council. Whatever the actual taxes were—and a Conservative writer has it that they amounted to no more than half an anna in seven rupees, all told—it was obviously impossible for Lord Curzon to reduce them, in the first few years of his viceroyalty, handicapped as he was by the greatest famine of the century, and the necessity for military reform. But taxation was never at any time during his rule worse than he found it, and in 1903 he reduced the salt-tax, and raised the limit of exemption from income-tax. The effect of this was a sacrifice to the revenue of £2,500,000 per annum. In 1905, the salt-tax was reduced still further.

This may be an answer to the accusation by Mr. O'Donnell, or rather by the *Pioneer*, to which he refers, that Mr. Donald Smeaton was "jockeyed out of his chance of succeeding Sir Fred. Fryer, Lieutenant-Governor of Burmah, by Lord Curzon, as a 'reward' for his plain speaking about taxation." Lord Curzon is accused of Jingoism in regard to the "abounding revenue," and of

silence as to how it accumulates. Sir Henry Cotton is also quoted as having lost the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal through bringing to the Viceroy's notice the underpayment of coolies on the Assam tea-plantations. Surely, in the face of what Lord Curzon actually did, such accusations are merely the expression of personal spite and jealousy.

The causes of poverty among the ryots are largely within themselves. For one thing, they are by nature thriftless, apart from the burden of taxation. For another, the native population in Bengal has, according to Sir William Hunter, increased threefold in a hundred years, while the entire population of India increases at the rate of a million a year ; and he gives peace as the cause of overpopulation. The ryots can, as a matter of fact, face a bad year or two, but not so the landless labourers.

PARTITION OF BENGAL.

It was this overpopulation of Bengal in particular that induced Lord Curzon to undertake the partition of it. An open letter to him was published in 1904 by a Bengali from Dacca, and deep resentment at the proposed scheme was expressed, more especially on the part of those who would be severed from the Calcutta division. They claimed that they were one people with one language, and that they would lose their privileges, and asserted that the Viceroy had not inquired carefully into the matter at all, nor tried to ascertain the will of the people. But it is evident to the most obtuse imagination that one man cannot efficiently administrate eighty millions of persons, and after previous Governors had all been overworked, Sir Charles Elliott, whose industry was irreproachable, declared himself unable to cope with so huge a task.

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIAN PRINCES.

The Viceroy's relations with the Indian Princes were happy. Brought up, as many of them were, to think that theirs might be a life of indolence and self-indulgence,

Lord Curzon sought to rouse in them a higher sense of duty, responsibility, and Imperialism, and he took a genuine interest in the Imperial Cadet Corps. In a letter to the *Times* the Maharajah of Darbhanga wrote :

"The Indian Princes have longed for the opening up of a career for their sons in the army. Their wish has been gratified, thanks to the kindly interest and support of H.E. Lord Curzon of Kedleston, and the British nation may rest assured that His Majesty the King-Emperor's confidence in the loyalty of his Indian subjects and feudatories is not misplaced. If I may say so without impropriety, there have been few Viceroys who have done more than H.E. Lord Curzon to foster and promote the spirit of Imperialism in India." In one number of *Hindi Punch* there is an amusing cartoon of Lord Curzon represented as a hen, with her princeling chicks about her, "Under the Maternal Wing." His attitude towards the ruling chiefs was as towards "colleagues and partners in the task of administration assisting them without encroaching on their independence." At the same time he did all he could to discourage denationalization and any departure from the national dress and customs.

TROUBLES OF EURASIANS.

When that unfortunate race the Eurasians wrote to him of the injustices done to them, he encouraged their leaders to take a more active part in the schemes for improving the education of their own people. He urged them also to use less violent language, and to uproot their own peculiar failings ; and arranged for the Government to help them with revised schemes and qualified teaching.

TWELVE REFORMS.

In addition to the solving of the foregoing problems, he set himself to bring about twelve reforms. Five of these were put into execution, and the preliminaries of a sixth arranged, during the first two years of his Governorship ; and the reader is again indebted to Krishnachandra Raza

for his clear and business-like explanation of many of them, and to Sir Thomas Raleigh for the rest.

FIRST REFORM : FRONTIER TROOPS.

The first reform dealt with the position of the frontier troops. These had hitherto been isolated in mountain fastnesses among troublesome tribesmen, far removed from the nearest line of communication. Under the new regulations they were withdrawn from these perilous positions to others in better communication with their base, and, at the same time, a more conciliatory policy towards the tribesmen was thus inaugurated. Seven years of peace followed, with the exception of one blockade against the irrepressible Mahsud Waziris.

SECOND REFORM : SUPPRESSION OF FREQUENT OFFICIAL TRANSFERS.

The second reform had for its purpose the suppression of frequent official transfers. The custom of transferring officials from one part to another had a very unsettling tendency, since a man had only just time to learn the peculiarities of his post before he was removed elsewhere, and he was thus discouraged to make a comprehensive study of the special requirements of any particular office.

THIRD REFORM : SUPERFLUOUS REPORT-WRITING.

The third reform did away with what Lord Curzon called the "inordinate writing, unjustifiable repetition, unbusiness-like procedure, and much avoidable delay," which was prevalent in all the Government office-work, and substituted for this a system of superior despatch. This move, though an excellent one, did not increase his popularity.

FOURTH REFORM : THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

The fourth was brilliantly explained in two speeches before the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, that must have

endeared him to all educated lovers of India, whether Indians or Anglo-Indians. They dealt with the deeply interesting subjects of "Indian Antiquities" and "Archæological Remains," and he did not hesitate to expose the vandalism, in particular, of the barrack-builder and the military engineer. "I hope to assert definitely in my time," he said, "the imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of Art and Learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge." He held, rightly enough, that Art and Beauty are independent of creeds.

FIFTH REFORM : STABLE EXCHANGE.

The fifth reform, the inauguration of a Stable Exchange, did away with the elastic currency which he considered to be "fatal to the accuracy of financial forecastings, and in the highest degree prejudicial to trade." He introduced the Gold Standard, with one pound sterling at the fixed value of fifteen rupees, and the Indian rupee at the fixed value of sixteen pence, both being legal tenders. This arrangement obviated loss by exchange.

SIXTH REFORM : EXTENSION OF RAILWAYS.

The sixth reform dealt with the extension of railways. Sir George Campbell held that exports should be restricted in order that food might not be taken away from the ryot in time of famine. Lord Northbrook and Lord Curzon both held the opposite view, that lack of railway extension would ruin Burmah in its great rice export, and the Punjab in its wheat export. "Imported grain we must have," says Lord Curzon, "and the railways will bring it." Twenty-five thousand miles of railway were added during the first two years of his term of office, and the soundest arguments were advanced by him to show that railways equalize prices rather than raise them, and prove to be the most unifying agency in India.

SEVENTH REFORM : IRRIGATION.

The seventh reform, to extend irrigation, was a very difficult one for engineers to deal with, on account of the overwhelming floods in one State and the complete lack of rain in another. The history of the Chenab Canal is quoted by one writer on this subject as an instance. One million acres of jungle, however, were cultivated during Lord Curzon's time, but great difficulty was experienced in colonizing this new land with Punjab natives, who were loth to leave their native soil, even though it could not support them.

EIGHTH REFORM : INCREASING INDEBTEDNESS OF
AGRICULTURAL POPULATION.

The eighth reform, dealing with the ever-increasing indebtedness of the agricultural population, presented many difficulties. The natives are by nature thriftless, and since the reign of peace in the country their numbers have increased by leaps and bounds, without any restriction. Those who have land usually mortgage it up to the hilt, and the farmers or landowners encourage this deplorable state of affairs. Lord Curzon, though considered optimistic on this question by some, fully realized its gravity, and did what he could by reducing the two important taxes before alluded to, to ameliorate the condition of the native peasants.

NINTH AND TENTH REFORMS : REDUCTION OF TELEGRAPHIC
RATES, AND IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN
BRITISH SOLDIERS AND INDIAN VILLAGERS.

The ninth, by which the telegraphic rates between India and England were reduced, had the effect of greatly facilitating trade between the two countries. The tenth, by which relations between British soldiers and Indian villagers were improved, showed that nothing was too remote for Lord Curzon's careful attention. No flagrant case of brutality towards the natives, and especially towards the women,

was allowed to rest until it had been thoroughly looked into by himself personally, and compensation and punishment respectively meted out. He was much criticized for his so-called extravagances in introducing electric fans into the barracks, though he had, as usual, the best of reasons for this apparently luxurious innovation. Cases had come to his notice of punkah coolies being injured or actually killed by an infuriated kick from a heat-maddened soldier, for dropping off to sleep during some stifling night in the plains. The wretched Tommy had probably been on the verge of heat apoplexy, struggling to do his duty in a climate which presents such odds as only a sympathetic Anglo-Indian can appreciate, and the introduction of the electric fan thus relieved the drowsy coolie from a post of unavoidable danger. Temperance was also much encouraged among the officers and soldiers, that the natives might not have to complain of a bad example.

ELEVENTH REFORM : EDUCATION.

Educational reform came eleventh on the list, and in his efforts to uproot existing evils by plain speaking, Lord Curzon aroused no little animosity among the unappreciative, shallow-brained section of the Bengalis. That this plain speaking was more than needed is only too evident in the present state of affairs in India. The socialistic movement there is the inevitable result of a superficial education, as it is everywhere else. In dealing with this difficult subject Lord Curzon was at great pains, according to one of his Council, to obtain the "full expression of all opinions, whether they agreed with his own or not." The Senate of 1900 consisted of large bodies of native teachers, who combined to lower the standard of education in India, and to turn out the typical Babu B.A., who learns by rote what is required for his examination, and has no ambition beyond obtaining some well-paid post where routine work requiring no thought is all that is demanded. "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing," and it is this class of

young men who conceive that their civilization is now so far advanced that they are fit to govern their own country. They are the Indian anarchists of the present day. Lord Curzon clearly perceived this danger, and at the Convocation address of 1905, where he spoke as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he did not mince matters. He warned the Babu against a too fluent, overburdened style of writing, with its fulsome flattery or violent sarcasm, and against the substituting of extravagant metaphor for hard facts. He tried in this address to them to rouse a better kind of ambition, a desire to work for the good of their country rather than for their own pockets. He saw the present socialistic movement coming, but looked upon it as a youthful distemper, from which a young emancipated intellect was bound to suffer. "Admission of independence," he said, "is a different thing from the denial of authority." And "As I dream of what India is to be or become, I recall the poet's lines :

" 'Where lies the land to which the ship would go ?
Far, far, ahead, is all her seamen know.
And where the land she travels from ? Away,
Far, far, behind, is all that they can say.' "

"In the little space of navigable water for which we are responsible, between the mysterious past and the still more mysterious future, our duty has been to revise a chart that was obsolete and dangerous, to lay a new course for the vessel, and to set her helm on the right tack."

TWELFTH REFORM : POLICE REFORM.

Police reform, by which the system of bribery was exposed and uprooted, brought this famous task to its conclusion, and it must be largely due to this that it has been possible to weed out the sedition-mongers of the present time, to bring them to justice, and to restore some kind of order to the disturbed country.

FAREWELL SPEECHES.

The Mohammedan writer calls attention to the touch of pathos in Lord Curzon's words, in speaking of this work. "Some people," he remarks, "say that these reforms are excellent, but that they will be ephemeral, because Viceroys are fleeting phantoms whose term is soon over. This, however, is a work in which is not involved the prestige or the whim of an individual, but the entire credit of British rule in India, and it is more to the interest of every local government that it should continue than it can be mine."

There is little doubt that in spite of his strong grasp of affairs and determined efforts to carry out what he conceived to be right, Lord Curzon was very sensitive to the opinions of his opponents and detractors. He wanted very greatly to be understood, while in India, but if that boon was to be denied him, he showed himself strong enough to get along without it. But he could not hide his wounds entirely, and this, coupled with the desire to feel that he had done some good, is so plainly shown in his very humane farewell speeches to two of the most famous British clubs in India, that it cannot come amiss to quote them at some length.

To feel that he had done some good, "that is enough—that is the Englishman's justification in India . . . to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist. . . . I have worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge."

And again, at a farewell dinner given by the United Service Club at Simla on September 30, 1905 :

"This is one of the last speeches I shall be called upon to make in India. . . . We have worked together in good report and evil report. India . . . takes her toll of health, and spirits, and endurance, and strength. A man's love for

the country is apt sometimes to be soured by calumny, his passion for work to be checked by the many obstacles to be encountered, his conception of duty to be chilled by disappointment or delay. . . . But . . . as the time comes for us to go, we obtain a clearer perspective. It is like a sunset in the hills after the rain. The valleys are wrapped in sombre shadows, but the hilltops stand out sharp and clear. . . . We look back upon our Indian career, be it long, as it has been or will be in the case of many who are here to-night, or relatively short, as in mine, and we feel that we can never have such a life again, so crowded with opportunity, so instinct with duty, so touched with romance. . . . We forget the rebuffs and the mortification, we are indifferent to the slander and the pain. Perhaps if we forget these, others will equally forget our shortcomings and mistakes. We remember only the noble cause for which we have worked together, the principles of truth, justice, and righteousness for which we have contended, and the good, be it ever so little, that we have done. India becomes the lodestar of our memories, as she has hitherto been of our duty. For us, she can never again be the 'Land of Regrets.'"

It is only great and sensitive natures that can, in spite of great achievement, feel the rebuffs of inferiors, and who realize their own shortcomings with a keenness that generally goes quite unappreciated and misunderstood. That India took her toll of health and strength in Lord Curzon's case, as well as the health, and eventually the life, of that which was even dearer to him, his wife, everyone knows. The late Lady Curzon is referred to by Sardar 'Ali Khān, the Mohammedan author of "*Lord Curzon's Administration of India*," as his "gallant comrade in arms," a description of her gifts more suggestive than any fulsome flattery. The term suggests also the perpetual battle waged by Lord Curzon during his viceroyalty in the cause of an upright, honest, and efficient Government.

Great Viceroys have gone before him, but all have not

had the same courage to break through the bondage of the Indian Bureaucracy in the search for honest rule, and by so doing to court unpopularity. His policy was staunchly Imperialist, and his conviction that India holds a very great position in the Empire, if not the key to it, is as strong as ever it was. Comparing recent events in the country with its condition under his rule, the observer is led to wish that he could have remained at the helm some time longer for India's sake. A country is never so well governed as by one who understands it, and no one could understand the East better than a man of the highest ability, to whom it has always been the dearest study, hobby, and attraction. Even Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, a bitter opponent of Lord Curzon's, though of much experience in India, admits "his undoubted good qualities of heart, as well as his unquestionable ability"; and when brains and heart of an unusually high order concentrate on achieving perfect comprehension of some one beloved object there is little that can escape that inspired scrutiny. Such a simile may well be applied to Lord Curzon and India.

EGYPT UNDER LORD CROMER.*

BY R. E. FORREST.

AMONG the many illuminating phrases that we have got from the French is the one that says that "The style is the man." That close accordance presents itself here. The style is practical, vigorous, clear; firm and direct; full of thought and purpose: the sentences move on with virile tread to a destined end. It is good English speech, and, in its easy flow, besides the grace of simplicity, lucidity, vitality, animation, full knowledge, is that of education and culture. The numerous quotations attest the writer's wide reading. The writer and his style belong, happily, to that past time in which quotations from the classics, which then formed a main part of education, were largely used, both in speech and writing; when they were uttered in the senate, recalled on the field of battle; when in India the rough and practical John Lawrence used them in public documents, and the young hero Quentin Battyé died with one upon his lips. Often the quotation was valued merely for its aptness. But Lord Cromer uses them, not for ornament or pleasure foremost or at all, but foremost for profit of his argument, gain of his advice, justification of his action. He quotes the maxims, the weighty sayings, of the great writers on policy, Greek, Roman, French, Italian, to support his own, to justify his action, help his argument, lend weight to his counsels.

This is a book of very great interest and value. It treats of a great event in the history of the world, of a glorious passage in the history of England. Some writer, French I think, says that the feat of administration under Lord Cromer in Egypt is as much "a crown of glory" to England as is her administration in India, which always

* "Modern Egypt." By the Earl of Cromer. Macmillan and Co., Limited, London.

evokes the highest admiration of the French, themselves great administrators. It is the account of a great work by one who had the leading part in it. Its value is enhanced by the plainness of statement of fact and opinion. Here you have the exact fact and the exact opinion. There are no false lights : here we have the pure dry light. There is no glossing over. As said, Lord Cromer is fond of quotations ; he might have added to the three upon his title-page this fourth one from Shakespeare, "I will a plain unvarnished tale deliver." There is no varnish in this book. This is deal, and that is oak. The word "plain" implies sincere : Lord Cromer's fidelity to the fact is constant, unswerving, as it were inevitable. His writing is ever truthful and sincere. There is no special pleading, no one-sidedness. Errors and shortcomings are acknowledged, failures mentioned as well as successes. There is no glorifying. Events are narrated, views, opinions, convictions, forecasts, given, without reference to the views and opinions of others, to popular clamour or mob enthusiasm. A very striking instance of this is in the case of General Charles Gordon. He was a popular hero—a fact so full of various consequences—one who had been raised to superhuman heights in his lifetime : been endowed with miracle-working power. And he was a worthy hero. To breathe a word against him was to expose oneself to the charge of sacrilege and other charges : to the fury of the uninformed, of the blind worshippers, of those who saw in the defence of Gordon a splendid opportunity for self-glorification : to the wrathful indignation of Gordon's friends and relatives. To have to point out specks on that bright mirror, to derogate in any way from that worthiness, could not be agreeable to a lover of the heroic, a fellow-countryman, and a brother officer. But the truth above all. Lord Cromer was at first very adverse to the sending of Gordon to Egypt : "I was unwilling to put forward my own objections, which were in some degree based on General Gordon's unfitness to undertake the work in hand,"

"The reason why I said this was that I knew something of General Gordon's erratic character. . . ."

"My only fear is that he is terribly flighty and changes his opinions very rapidly."

"Impulsive flightiness was, in fact, the main defect of General Gordon's character, and it was one which, in my opinion, rendered him unfit to carry out a work which pre-eminently required a cool and steady head. I used to receive some twenty or thirty telegrams from General Gordon in the course of the day when he was at Khartoum those in the evening often giving opinions which it was impossible to reconcile with others despatched the same morning."

"With this array of opinion against me, I mistrusted my own judgment. I did not yield because I hesitated to stand up against the storm of public opinion. I gave a reluctant assent, in reality against my own judgment and inclination, because I thought that, as everybody differed from me, I must be wrong. I also thought that I might be unconsciously prejudiced against General Gordon from the fact that his habits of thought and mode of action in dealing with public affairs differed widely from mine. In yielding I made a mistake which I shall never cease to regret."

"Had I known General Gordon better I should certainly never have agreed to his appointment."

Then see this :

"History has recorded few incidents more calculated to strike the imagination than that presented by this brave man, who, strong in the faith which sustained him, stood undismayed amidst dangers which might well have appalled the stoutest heart. Hordes of savage fanatics surged around him. Shot and shell poured into the town which he was defending against fearful odds. Starvation stared him in the face. The soldiers had to eat dogs, donkeys, skins of animals, gum and palm fibre, and famine prevailed. 'The soldiers stood on the fortifications like pieces of wood.' The civilians were even worse off. Many died of

hunger, and corpses filled the streets; no one had even the energy to bury them." "Treachery and internal dissension threatened him from within, whilst a waste of burning African desert separated him from the outward help which his countrymen, albeit tardily, were straining every nerve to afford." "All the anxiety he had undergone had gradually turned his hair to silvery white." "'Yet,' said an eyewitness, 'in spite of all this danger by which he was surrounded, Gordon Pasha had no fear. "Go," he said, "tell all the people in Khartoum that Gordon fears nothing, for God has created him without fear."' Nor was this an idle boast. General Gordon did not know what the word 'fear' meant. Death had no terrors for him. 'I would,' he wrote to his sister, 'that all could look on death as a cheerful friend, who takes us from a world of trial to our true home.' Many a man before General Gordon has laid down his life at the call of duty. Many a man, too, has striven to regard death as a glad relief from pain, sorrow, and suffering. But no soldier about to lead a forlorn hope, no Christian martyr tied to the stake or thrown to the wild beasts of ancient Rome, ever faced death with more unconcern than General Gordon. His faith was sublime. Strong in that faith, he could meet the savage who plunged a spear into his breast with 'a gesture of scorn,' and with the sure and certain hope of immortality which had been promised to him by the Master in whose footsteps he had striven to follow.

"Thus General Gordon died. Well do I remember the blank feeling of grief and disappointment with which I received the news of his death, and even now, at this distance of time, I cannot pen the record of those last sad days at Khartoum without emotion.

"He died in the plenitude of his reputation, and left a name which will be revered so long as the qualities of steadfast faith and indomitable courage have any hold on the feelings of mankind."

Sea-birds, we English wander over the face of the deep. In

our spread over the surface of the earth we are called upon to govern many peoples lower down in the scale of civilization than ourselves. We carry with us our manners and customs and laws and institutions, our economic and political maxims, our shibboleths. We desire to introduce these among those peoples, as we hold them the best, for by a happy conjunction of circumstances we hold a foremost place among the nations of the earth. We believe that our methods of living, our laws and customs, our modes of thought and feeling and behaviour, will raise these peoples in the scale of being; improve them mentally, morally, physically; make them happier, more efficient. To those adjustments of our thoughts and feelings and modes of action, our rules and regulations, which we have arrived at after experiment, and found best for ourselves, we give the names of laws and principles, and declare them everlasting and of universal application. We take our *zis* with us into the land that has passed, often by mere force of circumstance, under our rule, buoyant for its regeneration. We find ourselves confronted by an *zis* as strong as our own, stronger by reason of longer continuance, by longer action of the mighty forces of custom and heredity, strong with the terrible strength of ignorance and unreason. And we cannot carry the circumstances that made our *zis*, the climatic conditions, the social and political conditions, the religious influences, the eight or ten centuries of a vigorous, changeful, bracing history, with us. We find there a new, quite different earth and sky, a new position beneath the monarch, the tyrant, of the earth—the sun. We make proof of the enervating, degenerating power of large areas of the land in our own persons. We find there a people different from ourselves in mind, in character, physically, using the extensor muscles where we use the flexor, and the reverse; another kind of people, moulded by a different air and different food; by tenfold violence of the sun; by quite other social and political and religious systems. The life of each peasant is surrounded by as much deep-fixed cere-

monial as that of any Western monarch. It embraces every action of his life, however mean. Its inviolability is the thing of supremest importance to the peasant, more cared for than any political system, for which he is ready to lay down his life. That iron ring of caste, if protective, is also restrictive. That inviolability of personal habit was the main cause of the long-continued unchanging condition of things, of the maintenance of the same low level, and working with it was the recurrent throw-back of the famines, unprovided against, unfought against, except by supplications to the gods. Growth and strength of body and mind come only by the stimulus of use, and the long ages of inaction worked with climatic conditions in producing passivity. And the buoyant hopes of the sanguine innovator broke against that quality or condition; for resistance to shot and shell, earth and sand, are better material than brick or stone. To that land, which we will suppose India, came a young Englishman, to be a member of its small ruling class—came in the heyday of Liberalism, himself holding its creed, full of enthusiasm and of high feeling, eager for the good of that land and its people, an ardent champion of Vote by Ballot, and Trial by Jury, and State Education, and Religious Toleration, and a Free Press, the declaration of Junius, that “the freedom of the press was the palladium of English liberty,” a favourite quotation. How delightful to have a share in the founding of Colleges and High Schools and Village Schools and Universities, and it was very distressing, after the machinery had been working for some time, to hear the announcement that its results were poor, if not deleterious. That English education should produce disturbing results in the sphere of politics he had expected; the literature of freedom or revolt is strong wine. It was not general but individual results he cared for; the improvement of a community can come only from the improvement of the individuals composing it: his distress was to hear natives themselves, men of intellect, character, and judgment, speak of University students as “a disgrace and

a nuisance"—speak of them as "having become possessed only of a few ill-digested facts and fancies which make them unlovely in the sight of friends and enemies." Trial by Jury : The people cared nought for it, were opposed to it ; it would impede the course of justice ; they thought, as do all other people but ourselves, that the decision of a trained Judge must be better than that of such a haphazard tribunal. Vote by Ballot : The ballot-box was a contrivance unknown in the land, and the vote, which formed so large a part of the politics of England, had never formed a part of the work of rule in India. It was there an incomprehensible thing. Our young friend hailed with delight the opportunity of introducing its use afforded him by his connection with one of the first municipalities founded ; but when he came to explain to a native gentleman of position, whom he wished to be on the council, what the system meant, he was horrified to see on his face an expression similar to that which would appear on the face of an English gentleman were he to be called upon to dip his hands in the filth from a cesspool. " I allow myself to be elected by curriers and scavengers, men of low caste !" he cried. " Never !" The first municipalities languished by reason of the uncongenial soil. But then came the powerful impulse to their founding given by Lord Ripon, and they gradually increased ; and some proved of good service, and others harmful. But here again he was distressed to find that on the whole they were not held a success by a thoughtful native writer. " Their civic virtues are yet dormant," he said, writing of his countrymen ; " civic enterprise yet lacks that strong moral incentive which makes the needs of the many the opportunity for the devotion of the few. Civic renown is not yet the coveted laurel for which men live and die."

Then, while his own thoughts were so much occupied with electoral franchise, because the matter was of so much importance in England, he suddenly thought of the social disenfranchisement under which so many millions suffered

in the land around him—suffered not negatively but positively, suffered in the cruellest wounds to their feelings by being deemed so impure, by reason of their birth, that not only their touch, but their mere presence, was polluting. They passed through life under this horrible ban, and they knew that it would pass on to their children: themselves and they must lie in the deepest depth of degradation. They were debarred from worldly advancement, from profitable employment. In one place there were 4,000,000 people who were not permitted to hold any land. And there were none who took thought to deliver them from this social tyranny. A Free Press: He viewed with interest the birth of a vernacular press, with deepest interest the publication of English journals edited by natives, the display in them of the power of writing excellent English. Then came trouble. The new-found power was put to bad use—employed in doing private and public mischief. Native gentlemen of rank and position, extremely sensitive with regard to their honour and dignity, were made to cower before it, subjected to blackmail. “Why should the power of private annoyance and public disturbance be put into the hands of these low-born and unscrupulous men who have no thought or care but for the gratification of their vanity, their lust of gain and power?” Religious Toleration: This was perfect. No man was interfered with because of his religion—by the English Government or its officers; it was a strict ordinance on the latter. The teaching in all the Government educational institutions was strictly secular. Years went by, and there arose in him one day the thought, Was there not too much toleration? In earliest days the toleration was complete, the non-interference absolute. Then it came to be felt that an English Government could not tolerate human sacrifice. Toleration was connivance. That was forbidden. Slavery, too, was disallowed. Should rites, foul, mad orgies that meant the casting aside of all thought of decency and shame, revels of lust or blood-thirstiness, the

covering of the land with shameful symbols, polluting the mind from childhood, be permitted? And this not with reference to his own foreign feelings, but the good of the people. Was not the first step in the advancement of the people their deliverance from idolatry? That method was in no ways approved of by him—his sudden musings, the pressure of new thoughts, carried him hither and thither—but the flash of Mohammed's sword had cleared men's minds, improved their conduct. How could there be mental improvement when the people believed in monstrous fables? advance in decency when they worshipped indecent symbols? in morals, in character, when they adored the gods of lust and blood-thirstiness, of cunning and duplicity and greed? Of course he had always been against any cruel or brutal or offensive behaviour towards the Indian people, always desirous of the promotion of kindly feelings and friendly intercourse between the two races. But when he came across the sect whose cherished distinction, whose title of honour, was "the phallic folk," whose members all wore as their sacred symbol an image of the phallus in silver or gold, or poorer metal, the feeling arose within him, How could he be friendly with a gentleman so adorned, even though he was a man of wealth and position? There arose within him the feeling, Were the Christian missionaries, on whose labours he had hitherto looked askance, those who laboured best for the advantage of the people, their advantage in this world? Did not idolatry constitute a most serious social and political disability? He had hoped much from the new great physical agencies; he had expressed his anticipations in the words, "The whistle of the railway train will cause the idols to fall from their pedestals." But the years went by, and the railways carried the worshippers in increasing multitudes to the shrines. And he suffered much disappointment. But he and others are apt to appraise progress by their hopes and expectations. They forget the obstacles. They forget the element of time, of how the progress of nations is by generations rather than

by years. Not having seen both, they cannot realize, as can we, the few who have, that the old India has passed, a new India arisen. Take the one fact that India now occupies the fourth place among the food-producing countries of the world, and think of all that implies. Think of the enormous volume of the export and import trade: the people of India buy the articles brought in by the latter because they want them and can pay for them; their purchasing power has risen greatly. These articles are of the greatest possible service to them, raise them in the scale of living. It is only those who have had sympathetic knowledge of the domestic economy of the peasantry of India who know how great was their want of the poorest materials of comfort and convenience, who know how very little may make a great difference in their mode of living, as in the way of substituting glazed for unglazed crockery. (The Germans are pouring rough crockery into India.) Think of the enormous absorption of the precious metals. Take the case of the institutions which may have so great an effect in the political and social sphere, the municipalities. If the exalted civic spirit so eloquently spoken of by the native writer quoted above has not shown itself, yet, on the other hand, there are now more than 700 municipalities in India, and the people living within their limits number no less than 17,000,000. The eloquent passage about the civic spirit above referred to comes, as said, from a book from the pen of a native writer, a book of high literary merit, and bearing eloquent testimony to the fact that English education in India has not been a failure, as do the numbers of men who have taken high, sometimes the highest, honours at our Universities, who have risen to high rank in the service of the State; as do the numbers of excellent English periodicals, native-edited; as do the many societies for moral improvement. The native Christians now figure large in the census, begin to take a place in public employ. The deft Indian workmen are now having good tools supplied to their hands. The

railways, besides doing their proper work in the enormous external and internal trade, in the carrying of the millions of native passengers, have not failed in producing their indirect effects on the manners and customs and modes of thought of the people. All the great new agencies—canals, railways, roads, the Post-Office, education, law and justice, medicine, sanitation, and the others—are at work, their first introduction often the chief difficulty, and they have produced great results, and will produce increasingly greater. A new era looms before India in the development of her mineral resources.

While some English people are thus troubled by parts of our rule in India, others are troubled by the whole. What do we there? We are the great champions of freedom, and we rule over the 300,000,000 of various races residing there. We are there by reason of one of those concatenations of circumstances which make the history of the world. We are there because we alone were capable of producing universal order in the land; we are there because we alone are capable of maintaining it. The Indian Empire is ours because we made it. We took it from no one, because it did not exist before. It is only under us that ordinary, free, safe, and uninterrupted travel of persons and passage of commodities, with all its great economic advantages, has been possible. It was not dreamt of before, for India consists of various regions, with different features of soil and climate, made up of a number of nations—nations differing in race, religion, and speech: the distances in it great, the rivers large, the mountains high. Our King-Emperor, Edward the Seventh of England, is the only monarch who has ruled over the whole of the great peninsula, with the exception of the great Empress, Queen Victoria, of Excellent Memory, his mother. The Mogul Kings only pushed forward outposts from their base in the mountains of Cabul. We built the Empire by toughness, by readiness to endure toil and suffering, by fearlessness, by valour, by justice. We have introduced

law and justice throughout the land. Over the whole expanse we have upheld the celestial canopy of peace. We are there to protect the land against those foreign invasions, those marauding incursions, those internal wars, those predatory movements of lawless native horsemen which marked its history before our arrival. All the elements for both are there, ready to move at a moment's notice. There, without, on the western border, the fierce and hungry tribes and nations which have invaded and plundered India before hang like the held-back avalanche. There, within, are the Mussulmans, 60,000,000 strong, ready to reassert their ancient dominion, the men of Cabul coming down to their aid: there are the Mahrattas, ready to found more tributary States, ready to appear once more before Calcutta: there are the Sikhs: there, in their mountain eyrie, are the Nepaulese, whose movement into the lowlands our coming checked. Many of the old sea-powers have sunk, but others have arisen. There would be danger from them. It is the world-wide power of England alone that insures peace and security for India. The British fleet is her ægis. But the best rule of all is that of a nation by itself. Has it not to be said in regard to every proposition whatsoever, "That will depend on circumstances." How are the facts? One of the sea-powers that has sunk is Spain; her rule has not been good for herself, or any nation she ever ruled over. Home rule may be inhuman, weak and ineffective, wanting in the prime quality of strength. A people may be incapable of self-government. There are races that do not care for it, who have no sense of nationality. The attempts to set up autonomous negro States have met with failure. John Stuart Mill, a man of calm, clear judgment, an absolutely honest thinker, the apostle of liberty, who was thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of the case, declared, in his long paper on the subject, that under existing circumstances our English rule in India was the best possible one, as it was the only possible one.

All nations in passing from the lower to the upper

grades of civilization have had to come under the rule of some nation of a higher grade. This has been the case with ourselves: England has been helped in her advance by superior foreign rule, foreign tutelage. But we need not go into these general considerations, for the maxim does not apply here, for the simple but all-sufficient reason that here, in India, is no nation. As stated before, its area is made up of a congerie of nations. We are there to build up that nation. We are there to do what the people themselves cannot and will not do: mostly they care not to endure danger or fatigue or hardship, to risk life or limb or health or money. We are there to make a new people, one, as a whole, physically, morally, intellectually better. We have to make the way for many millions to advance out of savagery. We are there to increase those material resources without which no nation can stand. "No purely agricultural nation can ever be great:" we are there to open the way out of that condition. We are the workers for India on the road of advance. What we have done is not hidden. It stands out large. There are the great canals, the finest in the world, the railways, overcoming enormous physical difficulties. We have formed a great system of government, organized great State departments, manned largely by the natives of the land, for whom we have provided well and punctually paid employment such as was never known in the land before. We have formed a native army of a character never seen, or dreamt of, in the land before. Those great seaport towns, Bombay, Madras, Kurrachee, have risen up under our rule. We have introduced trade, commerce, and manufactures. From the few hovels on a mud-bank, which our first ships coming up the Ganges looked upon, has grown up that Calcutta which counts among the twelve great cities of the world, is supreme in Asia for its size, its commerce, its industries—supreme also, alas! in its vice. In the houses of its wealthy inhabitants are utensils of silver and gold: under our rule has appeared a class of wealthy landed

proprietors: the improved dress of the peasantry, their wearing of ornaments of gold and silver, is matter of ordinary observation. The great tract now known as the United Provinces is fast becoming a garden land. Agra and Delhi are more populous and prosperous than ever before. We are making of the Punjâb a land of Goshen. We are at this moment the best firm of mechanical and political engineers in the world. There are works to show it. We can bring testimonials. We have a very good one from Egypt.

The digression has been long—too long—but not a wandering away from the subject. The two are intimately connected. Our work in Egypt, which furnishes the testimonial mentioned, was similar—we use the past tense because we refer to the work done under Lord Cromer, and of which his book under review is the record—was similar to our job in India. We did there what we have done in India, and with a curious likeness where irrigation plays a leading part, as in the Punjâb and in the United Provinces. The work might almost be called Anglo-Indian, men from India played so prominent a part in it: Lord Cromer himself came from the post in India in which he gained his first experience of administration and statesmanship. It is a fine testimonial. What a change has been wrought there! Egypt has been lifted out of her financial slough of despond. She has been raised from bankruptcy to solvency, obtained command of means. The revenue has grown from £E8,935,000 in 1883 to £E15,337,000 in 1906. At the same time direct taxation has been reduced by little less than £E2,000,000 a year, and in the domain of indirect taxation the salt tax, from which the poor suffered so greatly, octroi duties, the bridge and lock dues on the Nile, the taxes on boats, sea-boats and river-boats, have been abolished altogether; the Customs duties, levied on so many articles, the postal, telegraph, and railway rates, have been greatly reduced. The only increase in taxation has been in the tobacco duty. During

the twenty years preceding 1906, extraordinary expenditure to the extent of £E19,303,000, was incurred on railways, canals, and public buildings: of this large sum only £E3,610,000 was borrowed; the rest was provided out of revenue.

With regard to that debt of which we have heard so much, there has been a reduction of £9,041,000 in the capital, and of £900,000 in the charge on account of interest and sinking fund. Those working in this all-important department of the State finally "arrested bankruptcy, turned a deficit into a surplus, relieved taxation, increased the revenue, controlled the expenditure, and raised Egyptian credit to a level only second to that of France and England. . . . It may be doubted whether in any other country such a remarkable transformation has been made in so short a time. . . . Beneficial results have accrued to the population of Egypt in every direction by the foundation of a sound fiscal policy."

Our first contact with the Egyptian army was a hostile one. The rebellious army under Arabi Pasha "occupied at Tel-el-Kebir an entrenched position of great strength. The attacking force, which had to advance up a 'glacis-like slope,' was numerically only one-half as strong as the defenders. Yet within twenty minutes of the first shot being fired the Egyptian force was in full retreat, with a loss of upwards of 2,000 killed; whilst the British force, which delivered a frontal attack, lost only 459 men killed and wounded."

"The subsequent history of the Soudan confirmed the lesson which was to be derived from the experience of Tel-el-Kebir. Everywhere the dervishes drove the fellaheen soldiers before them."

Then the English hands were set to work.

"The reasons why the endeavours to form an efficient military force in Egypt have been crowned with success are clear. The British officer has been allowed a free hand"

"Before the British officers had been long at work, it was clear that they had created a small army superior in quality to anything which Egypt had heretofore possessed. That army was endowed with all those outward and visible signs of efficiency of which note can be taken in time of peace. Would it, however, fight? That was a question which for some while remained doubtful. But all doubts have now been removed. The history of the Soudan, which has been narrated in this book, enables the question to be confidently answered in the affirmative."

With regard to the administration of justice. The law-courts as now established possess both the power and the will to do even-handed justice, to protect the humblest individual against oppression and wrong-doing. The Judges are independent. Behind them is the power of England. "Justice is no longer bought and sold." "It can now be said that justice in Egypt is administered on fixed principles, and, with occasional exceptions, the decisions are just." A defect noted is "that the law does not inspire sufficient terror to evil-doers." There is too much formality, too much leniency. Criminals should "receive adequate punishment when their guilt has been brought home to them. I deprecate the false sentiment which expends all its sympathy on the criminal, and reserves none for his victims."

Egypt is one of the chief seats of education of Islam. Its crowded University of El-Hazar is famed through all the realms of the Faith. This University stands at the summit of the purely Moslem educational system of Egypt. The village schools which are attached to most of the mosques in the country stand at the base of that system. "The chief aim and object of education in Islam," says Mr. Hughes, "is to obtain a knowledge of the religion of Mohammed, and anything beyond this is considered superfluous, and even dangerous." Mehemet Ali (I take the spelling of the name as given), who "amputated Egypt from the decaying body of the Ottoman Empire," saw, as

did Akbar in India, that secular progress could not be made without secular learning; he placed a high value on European knowledge; he established schools in the towns and large villages. But these, from various difficulties, the prejudices of the people, the lack of means, did not prove of much service. And the mosque schools, "organized as they were at the time the British occupation commenced, were as nearly useless as any educational establishments could be. "For want of funds no attempt at improvement of the schools could be made before 1897." Since 1898 the number of village schools under Government supervision has increased year by year. In 1906, 4,554 village schools were either directly under Government control or under departmental inspection for grants-in-aid. They gave instruction to 165,000 pupils, of whom nearly 13,000 were girls. "Besides these village schools there were in the country, in 1906, 505 educational establishments, which gave employment to 4,341 teachers, and instruction to about 92,000 pupils, of whom about 20,000 were girls."

"It cannot be doubted that the quality of the instruction afforded in the Government schools has been greatly improved of late years."

"The intellectual phase through which India is now passing stands before the world as a warning that it is unwise, even if it be not dangerous, to create too wide a gap between the state of education of the higher and of the lower classes in an Oriental country governed under the inspiration of a Western democracy. High education cannot, and ought not to, be checked or discouraged. The policy advocated by Macaulay is sound. Moreover, it is the only policy worthy of a civilized nation. But if it is to be carried out without danger to the State, the ignorance of the masses should be tempered *pari passu* with the intellectual advance of those who are destined to be their leaders. It is neither wise nor just that the people should be left intellectually defenceless in the presence of the hare-brained and empirical projects which the political charlatan, himself

but half educated, will not fail to pour into their credulous ears."

This does not convey a right impression of the working of our educational system in India. The higher education has not been given exclusively, or even mainly, to the higher classes. Those obtaining it have belonged chiefly to the lower classes, the lower castes. It is very much on account of this that we find their own countrymen speaking of this class, which forms a social anomaly among them, in such strong terms as those quoted already, as "a disgrace and a nuisance," as "unlovely in the sight of friends and enemies." For many a year the Mussulmans held aloof from our colleges, founded before our schools, altogether; and the better classes of the people, the rich bankers and merchants, the well-to-do Zemindars, did not send their sons much. The man who was Senior Wrangler at Cambridge some four or five years ago was the son of a poor peasant and of an "unclean" caste, to use the branding epithet of the land. The most thoroughly successful of the educational institutions in India have been those for the education of the highest classes among the Hindus and the Mohammedans, the State schools for Princes and Chiefs, and the great Mussulman institution at Aligarh founded by Sir Synd Ahmed.

"The organization of the police early attracted the attention of Lord Dufferin: he desired to form 'an intelligent, active, and ubiquitous provincial constabulary.'" But that end does not seem to have been arrived at yet, though improvements in the organization have been made.

"The condition of the prisons was horrible in the extreme." The old ones have been improved, new ones built—sanitation introduced into both. Prisoners have been provided with proper food and clothing. Special prisons for women, reformatories for juvenile offenders, have been introduced.

The railways have suffered from a board of mixed nationality, now done away with. In 1890 they carried

4,700,000 passengers and 1,683,000 tons of goods; in 1906 no less than 22,350,000 passengers and 20,036,000 tons of goods. These figures indicate an enormous improvement in the material condition of the country. "They also afford an ample justification for the large reductions which have been made in the rates."

But the most marvellous transformation was wrought in the important, the vital domain of irrigation. It was worked by officers from the Irrigation Department of our Indian Empire. Of course improvements were expected when these gentlemen were sent for, just as you expect better music when you send for better musicians. But it was thought that the improvements would be only in the direction of better and more honest working, better administration. The thousands-of-years-old system of irrigation must have arrived at perfection. The better administration came, but the men from India revolutionized the system also. The change, involving so much boldness, so much thought, care and trouble, so much self sacrifice, can be described in a few words. Of yore the water passed on to the land by direct inundation from the great river, or was lifted up on to it from lakes or basins which the river filled. Everything depended on the level of the water in the Nile. If too low, if it kept beneath the level of those fatal "low cubits" which were designated by the Arabs "the angels of death," then "famine and destruction fell upon the land of Egypt": if too high, too far above that level, then came the fear lest "Nature should be too prodigal of her gifts, and destroy by excess what, it was hoped, she would have bestowed by moderation." The lift irrigation from the basins was slow and costly. However large they were, the supply in them was but small in terms of running water, of cubic feet per second. Command was obtained of the river by means of dams, and the irrigation passed into the higher condition of perennial. New canals were made; they and the old ones were kept in repair, in proper working order; the water

was distributed on fixed and scientific principles, and rigidly, without "fear or favour." Before the British engineers had been at work ten years the cotton crop was trebled, the sugar crop more than trebled. It "is estimated that the conversion, now nearly complete, of 404,470 acres of land in Middle Egypt from a system of basin to one of perennial irrigation will increase the rental value of these lands by no less than £E2,022,350, and the sale value by £E28,312,900." Drainage went hand in hand with irrigation. The evil, injurious system of forced labour on the canals was abolished. The fine barrage near Cairo was put into working order, a fine feat of engineering. The great new dam at Assouan outsoars the monuments of the Pharaohs.

These great results were due "to the high character and marked capacity" of the British Engineers; to "the care, the watchfulness, and the untiring energy," with which they carried on their work: to which should have been added "to their close attention to details, their constant presence on the works, their disregard of hardship and exposure." Most, if not all, the Engineer officers, who, headed by the greatly—and justly—praised Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, came from the Irrigation Department in India, had served on the Ganges Canal, the present writer being with them there. There they learned the principles of work mentioned above. The great canal was then in its first unbridled energy, had not settled down in its channels. It needed and called forth constant and unremitting care and attention. The officers lived under a self-denying ordinance, and had to "shun delights, and live laborious days." It was a splendid work, of a wide beneficence, and evoked enthusiasm.

When Lord Dufferin came to Cairo in 1882, the first thing he did was to issue a circular forbidding the use of the courbash. What is the courbash? The courbash is an instrument of torture, a whip made of a strip of hippopotamus hide tapering at the end. It was in constant use,

a recognized instrument of rule, so much so that it was not until 1888 that it disappeared from off the scene with the prohibition of all forms of torture.

It was by the insistence of the English irrigation officers that the *corvée* system was done away with. The repairs and clearance of the irrigation channels was carried out wholly by means of this system of forced labour, and the bad condition into which they had fallen was due greatly to that cause: the system was ineffective as well as cruel and tyrannical. The peasantry were freed from it with the happiest results for themselves and the canals. "Among the many achievements which England has accomplished in the cause of suffering humanity, not the least praiseworthy is this act, that, in the teeth of strong opposition, the Anglo-Saxon race insisted that the Egyptian labourer should be paid for his work; and that he should not be flogged if he did not wish to work."

Slavery and the slave trade have been greatly restricted and placed on the road to extinction.

In one place Lord Cromer has the following summary of what has been done in Egypt: "A new spirit has been instilled into the population of Egypt. Even the peasant has learned to scan his rights. Even the Pasha has learnt that others besides himself have rights which must be respected. The *courbash* may hang on the walls of the *Moudirieh*; but the *Mouders* no longer dare to employ it on the backs of the *fellaheen*. For all practical purposes it may be said that the hateful *corvée* system has disappeared. Slavery has virtually ceased to exist. Fiscal burdens have been greatly relieved. Everywhere law reigns supreme. Justice is no longer bought and sold. Nature, instead of being spurned and neglected, has been wooed to bestow her gifts on mankind. She has responded to the appeal. The waters of the Nile are now utilized in an intelligent manner. Means of locomotion have been improved and extended. The soldier has acquired some pride in the uniform which he wears. He has fought as

he never fought before. The sick man can now be nursed in a well-managed hospital. The lunatic is no longer treated like a wild beast. The punishment awarded to the worst criminal is no longer barbarous. Lastly, the school-master is abroad, with results which are as yet uncertain, but which cannot fail to be important."

These are fine civil achievements. They bear the strongest testimony to the fact that at this present moment, in the arts of rule and administration and practical construction, our hand is in.

What will be the future of Egypt? "That depends, in no small degree, on a factor which is at present both unknown and uncertain, viz., the conduct of the Egyptians themselves. We cannot as yet predict, with any degree of assurance, the moral, intellectual, and political results likely to be obtained by the transformation which is at present taking place in the Egyptian national character.

"It may be that at some future period the Egyptians may be rendered capable of governing themselves without the presence of a foreign army in their midst, and without foreign guidance in civil and military affairs; but that period is far distant. One or more generations must, in my opinion, pass away before the question can be even usefully discussed.

"Material progress may, under certain conditions, be rapid. Moral and intellectual progress must, of necessity, always be a plant of slow growth.

"To suppose that the characters and intellects of even a small number of Egyptians can in a few years be trained to such an extent as to admit their undertaking the sole direction of one of the most complicated political and administrative machines which the world has ever known, and of guiding such a machine along the path of even fairly good government, is a sheer absurdity.

"It should never be forgotten that, in default of community of race, religion, language, and habits of thought, which ordinarily constitute the main bonds of union between

the rulers and the ruled, we must endeavour to forge such artificial bonds between the Englishman and the Egyptian as the circumstances of the case render available. One of the most important of these bonds must always be the exhibition of reasonable and disciplined sympathy for the Egyptians, not merely by the British Government, but by every individual Englishman engaged in the work of administration. This sympathy is a quality the presence or absence of which is displayed by Englishmen in very various degrees when they are brought in contact with Asiatic or African races. Some go to the extreme of almost brutal antipathy, while others display their ill-regulated sympathy in forms which are exaggerated, and even mischievous. The Egyptians rightly resent the conduct of the one class and ridicule that of the other. A middle course, based on accurate information and on a careful study of Egyptian facts and of the Egyptian character, will be found more productive of result than either extreme. Another bond may, to some extent, be forged by appealing to the person or the pocket. A proper system of justice and of police can protect the former. Material interests can be served by various means, the most effective of which is to keep taxation low. Do not let us, however, imagine that, under any circumstances, we can ever create a feeling of loyalty in the breasts of the Egyptians akin to that felt by a self-governing people for indigenous rulers, if besides being indigenous they are also beneficent. Neither by the display of sympathy nor by good government can we forge bonds which will be other than brittle. . . . The want of gratitude displayed by a nation to its alien benefactors is almost as old as history itself. . . . In any case, whatever be the moral harvest we may reap, we must continue to do our duty, and our duty has been indicated to us by the Apostle St. Paul: we must not be 'weary in well-doing.'

Of course this paper is no full or adequate review of Lord Cromer's masterly memoir. We have but touched on a few points which bore on a purpose of our own. We

have said nothing about the history of events which occupies the whole of the first volume and a good part of the second, and in which occur such episodes as the annihilation of the army of Hicks Pasha, the fall of Khartoum, the reconquest of the Soudan. We turn over chapter after chapter whose interest and importance is indicated by their headings—"The Dwellers in Egypt," "The Moslems," "The Europeanized Egyptians," "The International Administration," "The Neutralization of the Suez Canal," and so on, and we have not touched on them at all. All we have written concerns Egypt, and here we have the great new kingdom, or domain, which Lord Cromer calls the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan, in which he hoisted the British and Egyptians flag together, and informed the assembled Sheikhs "that for the future they would be governed by the Queen of England and by the Khedive of Egypt," things pointing to great future consequences—that Soudan about which his final words are, that it has been "launched on the path of moral and material progress." And now Sir Eldon Gorst writes in his first Report, which is lying before us, that, returning to the Soudan "after an interval of seven years," he was able to see with his own eyes the immense advance, not only in the material well-being of the population, but also in their moral and intellectual standard." It is strange to look over the Report of these "vast territories," which were but recently the seat of lawlessness, the domain of cruel and sanguinary barbarism, and to find in it the old familiar headings of the Administration Report of an Indian Province, such as Finance, Justice, Prisons, Police, Education, Roads, Irrigation, Public Health, and so on, down to Archæology, together with such special heads as Game Preservation, Slavery, and Missionary Work.

The regeneration of Egypt, the making the most of its marvellous productive power, the improvement of its irrigation, the establishing command over the waters of the Nile, the construction of the Great Dam, the obtaining control over the whole of the Valley of the Nile, the founding of the new

domain of the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan, the connecting it with the rest of the world by means of a railway and a new port which may hereafter become a great entrepôt—all these are things Lord Cromer may look back upon with satisfaction. They are enormously creditable to him—and to us. They certify to the fact that by the working of the law of evolution and the good providence of God we are at this moment leading workmen in the arts of rule and government and practical construction, the making of railroads and canals and seaports, and so forth. They prove conclusively that it may be useful for a people still lower down in the path of evolution to be under our rule, because of its proved tolerance and justice, because of its strength, which insures the great boons of security and peace, for the sake of the development of its trade and commerce, the introducing of manufactures, the production of those material resources without which no nation can hold a high independent position. "Sound finance is the foundation of the independence of States." Of course in the conjunction of peoples of different grades of civilization there must be jars to the feelings of those of the backward grade. That is the drawback to our rule in India—its superiority. But no hurt is felt by the mass of the people, because their concern is for personal rights, and the sense of nationality has not risen up among them: so long as those personal rights are not interfered with, they care not who rules. But the feelings that must arise in many classes from this cause and from difference of race and religion have to be considered and mitigated by abstaining from arrogance, by kindness, and friendliness, and sympathy, and by associating the people of the land with ourselves in its rule to the utmost extent compatible with the efficiency of the public service and the steady, undisturbed evolution of the country from a condition in many parts barbaric to one of the highest civilization.

To go back: Lord Cromer has established a noble record. He renders full credit to those who have worked

in conjunction with him ; but he was the leader, and to him must be the glory of the success, as to him would have been the discredit of the failure. His was the hand at the helm, and one great element in the success was the long continuousness of his strong, calm, thoughtful, purposeful rule. If some of the ablest men under him were so worried and maddened by obstructions as to be ready to resign their posts, he had greater reason to be worried and maddened. But he held calmly on ; calm strength is the quality that stands out so conspicuous. If this or that could not be done, then do what could. After all, to go easy in alterations was an excellent principle. And so in the end all that was purposed got done. What rewards his work in Egypt has brought him Lord Cromer could have obtained more easily elsewhere, but not the unique glory.

THE PEARL OF AFRICA.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

THE fact that gold (presumably alluvial) has been discovered in the Kakoi River gravels—*i.e.*, in the region west of Lake Albert Nyanza, is after all nothing either so very extraordinary or surprising. It has been pretty conclusively proved that gold formations run in reefs or belts. The fact, therefore, that the new find is in close proximity to the goldfields of the Congo is tolerably clear evidence, not that one is an extension of the other, but that both belong to the same geological formation.

In face of this important discovery, a slight sketch of the country in which it has taken place may prove of some interest. The Protectorate of Uganda is an Administration quite distinct in itself from that of East Africa, and has only been in existence a matter of fourteen years. It was, in fact, only in 1890, owing chiefly to the efforts of Sir Frederick (then Captain) Lugard, that the Imperial East Africa Company signed a treaty with King Mwanga, which enabled it to establish a Protectorate over Uganda. This region, which was subject only to Mwanga, was bounded by the territories called Usoga, Unyoro, Toro, Ankole, Buddu, and Koki, and known as Uganda proper. Four years after—in 1894, on June 19—a British Protectorate was proclaimed; but since then it has been extended over the districts above named. It was in 1858, however, that Uganda for the first time came into touch with Europeans. This happened when Burton, with whom was Speke, had been exploring the south end of the lake, which he named Victoria. Again, in 1862, Speke and Grant discovered the source of the great and historic river of Egypt, which flows from the Lake over what they named the Ripon Falls. Thirteen years after, Stanley,

who called it the "Pearl of Africa," visited Uganda. As one of the effects of his visit, and of the opinions expressed by him with regard to the country and its people, the Church Missionary Society sent out a Mission that started from Zanzibar in 1877. This was quickly followed by a Mission of the White Fathers, and more recently by a Mission of the Mill Hill Fathers. The first European to enter Usoga, which lies to the east of Uganda, was Bishop Hannington, who, it will be remembered, was murdered in 1885 at the instigation of Mwanga, somewhere near a place called Lubu. This only became known five years later, as a result of Dr. Peters' journey, the chief object of which was to extend German influence in this direction. For the purposes of administration the Protectorate is at present divided into the following provinces: The Kingdom of Uganda, the Central, the Western, and the Nile provinces. The first includes Uganda proper; the Central comprises Usoga, Bukedi, and the Elgon district; the Western Province is composed of Unyoro, Toro, and Ankole; the Nile Province consists of Shuli, Bari, and Dodinga.

Uganda proper has an approximate area of 16,000 square miles, and is subdivided into twenty districts. Mengo, the native capital, is also the Administrative Headquarters of the province, with Entebbe and Kaku-miro as outlying stations. The King is assisted in the government by a Council of Chiefs called the Lukiko, of whom three are native ministers—the Katikiro, or Prime Minister, a Chief Justice, and a Treasurer. At present Daudi Chwa, the son of Mwanga is King, but being legally an infant, the affairs of the kingdom are in the hands of a native Council of Regency. Mwanga was deported in 1897, for leading an insurrectionary movement, which was quickly suppressed. This was followed a few months afterwards by a mutiny that broke out amongst the Soudanese troops. It was not, however, until several months of fighting under very precarious circumstances, in

which many British officers lost their lives, that this revolt was utterly crushed. Fortunately for our rule, the natives of the country showed unswerving loyalty throughout the entire crisis. Although Entebbe is only an outlying station of Uganda proper, it is the official capital and headquarters of the whole Administration. It is besides the principal port of Uganda, and is situated at the extreme north-west corner of the Lake, a little to the west of Murchison, and only a few miles north of the Equator. In every sense in fact, its position is admirable, and it is in direct steamship communication with Kisumu, the railway terminus and port of the East Africa Protectorate. There is now a weekly service between the two ports, which is maintained by the railway steamers, *Winifred* and *Sibyl*, also the *William Mackinnon* belonging to the Uganda Protectorate. This journey occupies two days, and by means of one of the numerous dhows which ply between Entebbe and Kisumu, it is prolonged from four to eight days.

Entebbe, which in the language of the native means "the chair," lies twenty-three miles in a southerly direction from Mengo, and is connected with it by a good bicycle and cart road. Indeed, it is connected with all the other outlying district stations by good main roads, that are suitable in most cases for wheeled traffic. It is also connected with Mombasa by a line of telegraph which passes through Usoga, and joins Jinja and Kampala with Entebbe. This line has for some time been opened with Wadelai, and was recently extended to Nimule. The rates are the same as in East Africa; but to wire to Entebbe from Mombasa, or *vice versa*, costs one rupee for eight words ordinarily, and double that when the message is urgent. All telegraph lines in East Africa are the property of the Protectorate Governments. With regard to the postal arrangements, there is now a regular service with Mombasa. The European and East African mails are received and despatched every week at Entebbe, which has a daily service with Kampala. Letters for the Nile and Western

Provinces are despatched from here once, to Jinja, in the Central Province, three times, a week. Kampala, Hoima, and Entebbe are the only regular post-offices in charge of postmasters. In the outlying districts the official in charge of the station receives and despatches mails and sells stamps only.

There are several merchant firms in Entebbe. Among some of the principal are: Campbell Dowse and Co. mining agents, auctioneers, and official brokers; the East Africa Trading Company; the Victoria Nyanza Agency; Aldina Visram, general merchants; Società Coloniale Italiana; Souza junior and Dias, general merchants; G. de Figueiredo, general merchant. There is also a German Vice-Consulate there, and an Hotel known as the Equatorial, the proprietor of which is Mr. Berti. The game regulations are the same as those in force in the East Africa Protectorate. A separate licence, however, is required for each. The game reserves in Uganda are divided into three main sections. It is somewhere in the vicinity of the third of these, close to the boundary of the Congo Free State, that the new gold-field lies. The country, taken as a whole, answers very much to the fine description given of it by Stanley. The climate is very mild, and particularly uniform all through the year, the variation being only from 50° to 90° F. There can be no doubt that there is a splendid prospect before it. It is in part a plain, in part undulating, and in part mountainous, extremely fertile throughout, and well wooded. Its people, the Waganda, who number over 3,000,000, although of Bantu stock and warlike, are a highly intelligent people, with native industries that are well developed. The trade consists of cattle, ivory, rubber, and coffee. Since the completion of the railway from Mombasa to Victoria Nyanza the outside trade has begun to develop. Taking this, which statistically is included in the fiscal returns of the East Africa Protectorate, we find a marked difference between the years 1905 and 1904.

Thus, while in the latter year the imports amounted to £259,000 and the exports to £137,000 in value, in the year following the imports had increased to £328,000, and the exports to £235,000. This increase is steadily improving. Of course, the greater part of this revenue was derived from the East Africa Protectorate. This increase in the exports is a particularly healthy feature.

In reality it is practically impossible to dissociate the two Administrations. Taken together, East Africa and Uganda form a splendid possession. We have seen what the latter is, the former if anything has even greater advantages. Apart from any mineral wealth, which is highly probable, its future lies rather in its agricultural and industrial possibilities. These in themselves if properly developed are amply sufficient to insure the future prosperity of the country. In the coast districts, which are not so insalubrious after all, every kind of tropical product can be cultivated. The cocoanut palm flourishes, and already there is a large and increasing trade in Copra; the castor-oil plant grows like a weed. The forests are rich in valuable timbers, also in gum copal and rubber. Various barks and vegetable fibres have been most favourably reported upon by experts. All kinds of native grains and vegetables yield a good harvest. Experiments in coffee, tobacco, and vanilla are being carried on with every reasonable prospect of success. There are, too, pearl and *bêche-de-mer* fisheries, and the extraction of dye from the bark of the mangrove-tree bids fair to develop into an important industry.

But rich as the littoral is, it is the interior that will attract the European. The completion of the Uganda railway has opened up territories in the hinterland which are eminently suitable for colonization; for they possess not only great natural fertility, but also a climate that may almost be described as ideal, in addition to the fact that the supply of native labour is both cheap and abundant. It is, in fact, a land where the settler can make a home,

because children can thrive, and where periodical visits to Europe become a luxury, and not a necessity, as in most tropical climes. But it is not their agricultural and economic possibilities that will alone attract intending settlers to East Africa. The picturesque and varied grandeur of its scenery, and the unrivalled opportunities that it offers for sport, is certain to prove a very great attraction.

TWO HYMNS FROM THE GĀTHAS.

YASNA XLVIII.*

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.

HOPE OF VICTORY.

If he† with Asha's deeds shall slay the Lie-Druj,
 When that once called deceit our lot‡ shall really be,
 In deathless life for saints, curséd for faithless ;
 With blessings this shall swell, praise, Lord, to Thee.

SUSPENSE.

Tell me then, Lord, what Thou so well perceivest,
 E'er my war's crises shall fully come on ;
 Shall the law's ranks in truth smite down the sinners,
 For so life's crowning deed for us is won !

THE STAKE.

Yes, to the enlightened one is that best of doctrines
 Which the beneficent through Asha's law hath taught ;
 Holy he knoweth the hid truth's revealers,§
 Mazda, Thy servant through good mind's keen thought.

THE FUTURE GOAL.

He who will bend his mind on both the good and evil,
 With Asha's truth His lot, fulfilling vows,|| will cast,
 His soul will join for aye believers|| in friendship ;
 And in Thy knowledge stand complete at last !

* For literary prose translation, see the Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxi., at the place indicated. For Latin Verbatim and Commentary, see the author's Gāthas, pp. 284-322, 567-584; also the Dictionary, Gāthas, pp. 623-900. The Sanskrit equivalents of these pieces have been approximately prepared upon the plan followed with those of Yasna XXVIII. in the Festgruss of the late Professor R. von Roth, and they will appear in due course.

† The commander of the Zarathushtrian forces.

‡ So stands the text, and my emendation (see the Verbatim) is solely in response to doubts as to the genuineness of such a too significant idea.

§ See the Word-for-Word.

|| *Ibid.*

INCITATIONS.

Yes, may our rulers win ! . . . yon tyrants never ! . . .
 With well-planned tactic deeds, O holy Zeal,
 Saving their offspring* to saints, O thou best one ;
 For herds be work well done, and send them weal !
 For they will give us, Lord, safe homes and power,
 Long lasting strength, good men,† free-est from strife ;
 For Kine‡ he grew with skill faultless the pastures,
 Mazda, in birth of all primeval life !

WAR.

Down then be Raider cast ; against Fury§ smite ye !
 Ye who at good men's † side, holding would share
 That help|| whose Holy bond bindeth the righteous ;
 For him within Thine house that help I'll bear !

THE EFFECTIVE PLEA.

Which is indeed the prayer to bring on Thy good
 ruler,
 Which can Thy blessings Goal for us attain ?
 How shall I seek the men marked out as helpers,
 While I Thy people's cause further to gain ?

SUSPENSE (ONCE MORE).

Aye, shall I know if aught for me Ye govern
 By Thy just law o'er what most doth appal ? ¶
 Aright for joy to me show good men's** favour ;
 Let Thy true prophet find how blessings fall !

* Or "halloving to [believing] man the best things for generation"—
i.e., "for the increase of all living values" ; according to tradition, the best
 things "after birth."

† *Lñ.*, "good mind."

‡ The sacred and vital cattle interest on which the reformed polity was
 built, as opposed to the freebooting of the border ruffians—the Turā.

§ *Aēshma*, the wrath-demon of the raid.

|| Or "shelter," or some similar element favouring the holy people.

¶ Over some vital interest or threatening calamity ; as to what it may
 have been, see the Verbatim and the Commentary, p. 577.

** Thus, for the practical meaning ; *lit.*, "the good mind's. . . ."

WHO SHALL HELP?

Yes, when shall come the men best skilled for action ?
 When drive they hence this soil of frenzied seer ?
 With whose foul rites the Karp murd'rous would rob us,
 And by whose oracle Tyrants are here ?

THE RALLY.

Aye, when shall come keen zeal with legal Order,
 Giving through government rich pastures, blest homes ?
 Who rest from blood-stained infidel wins us ?
 To whom shall civic* skill from good men† come ?

THE MEN.

Yes, such shall be, O Lord, this land's prince-saviours,
 Who in Thy people's Faith firm shall abide,
 With Asha's rites fulfilled, guarding each statute,
 Set against murder's raid stemming its tide !

Y. 48, *Word-for-word, etc.*—1. "If [he] with-adjusted [instrumentalities] through- [the assistance of] -Asha [as the personified constitution of the State, or 'as the attribute of Ahura'] shall-conquer the-Druj(-k) [the harmful demon of the Lie, the genius of the hostile party; as it were, the inverted Asha], (b) when [those-things] shall be, [so-with one text conjecturally emended] pushed-forward, [or 'shall be pushed forward with a sharing,' (*i.e.* 'as our share,' so with the current text)], which [things] were-decried [as] deceptions; (c)-[when they shall be advanced] in-deathlessness, [decried] by-false-gods'-[worshippers, advanced] by- [saintly]-men, (e), [then this] shall-increase the-fulness-of-worship for-Thee, O-Ahura, on-account-of-the-rich-blessings [or 'advantages secured']".

4. "[He] who will-apply [his] mind to-the-better [thing], O-Mazda, and to-the-worse, (b) [he will also follow, or 'apply his thought'] to-the-insight [of the holy faith], with deed and work; (c) his wish [or 'wished-for-ideal'] will-go-on-hand-in-hand-with [his] beloved and chosen-religious-

professions [meaning either that 'his intentions will follow his professions,' or 'his passionate desire will follow his beloved fellow-disciples'], (c) [and] in-Thine understanding, [*i.e.* in the deeds and beliefs which Thou dost think to be wise] he-will-be [versed] in-many-different-ways at-last. Hardly 'apply his mind to the more holy.'"

5. "Let those-who-exercise-good-rule bear-rule; let-not evil-rulers rule us; (b) let the good rulers rule us with-the-deeds of-good-wisdom, [or 'good skill' (administrative, or even military)], O-one-alert-of-mind [for devoted action], (c) blessing-with-a-hallowed-blessing [his] posterity for-the-faithful-man, [*i.e.* rescuing and cherishing their best interests], O-best-one, [or 'hallowing to-man the-best [influences tending] to-generation, [*i.e.* 'to the prosperous birth of men and live-stock']—(Some writers refer this to the later spiritual birth in heaven, a pretty idea; but such advanced hyper-spiritualism is not consonant with the circumstances just here when they are estimated in a critical spirit); (d) for-the-Cow [meaning 'for the sacred cattle-interest'] let-work-be-done; may'st-Thou-nourish her to-feed [her; (hardly, as would seem at first sight more natural) 'for our food']."

10. "When, O-Mazda and-Asha, shall the-alert-and-ready-mind [as it exists in the zealous patriot come]?; [or 'when, O-M., shall the devoted and ready patriots come' with-asha, *i.e.* 'filled with the spirit of the holy law?']; (b) when shall prosperous-home-life provided-with-pasture come?; [*i.e.* 'when shall domestic prosperity return through the influence of heavy crops of pasture-grass, it not being withered by a scorching draught, but aided by irrigation, an especially meritorious work] by-means-of-khshathra [*i.e.* 'under the influence of effective and sacred government control, which may watch ceaselessly these supreme interests']; (c) who shall-give the-settling-blow on-the-occasion-of-[these]-bloody [and so, cruel] evil-'demon-worshippers?; or 'who shall give us rest from them?' (which amounts practically to the same thing)]; (d) to-

whom shall the wise-skill of-the-good mind [in Thy citizen] come?, [*i.e.* 'to whom shall the wise-skill of the good citizen come?']."

YASNA XLIX.

DEFEAT.

Beñdva hath gained . . . ! he ever yet the strongest . . . ;
The ruthless * now with rites to peace I call ;
Come, Lord, with gift of good
To heal my sorrow ; with good men † gain
For me that Beñdva's fall !

THE VICTOR WORTHLESS.

Beñdva's 'curst * Resident· retarding, still would foil me ;
Faithless, from Asha's host reaps he alone the sword ;
No prospering zeal he plans
For this our nation nor counsels with
Thy good men, † Lord.

THE FAITH IS STILL OUR STAY.

But for our Faith Thy Law stands firmly founded ;—
For his false creed, the Lie demon of war !
Yes, Thy pure people's true shelter I'll hold by ;
Allies of infidels ever abhor !

THE FOE'S FELL CREED.

They who with madness urge on Raid and Wasting,
With their loud § tongues would shout rushing to thief,
Who pray with devil's Rites, with Asha's never ;
These the fiends help with what Foul sinners believe !

* Probably the Mazda-worshippers, disaffected owing to the disaster (compare Yasna XLVI., 1, where none would help him). Possibly the word might be freely rendered "the wounded."

† *Lit.*, "with good mind"; so, wherever possible, "the good mind" should be understood (see Yasna XLIX., 10).

‡ *I.e.*, "with our citizens," in whom "the good mind lives."

§ "With 'their own' tongues"; "their own" probably having some such force.

THE TRUER HOPE.

But he is blessing, Lord, and he our riches,
 Who guards our holy Faith with good * men's hand ;
 Each willing saint hath thus Asha enfranchised
 With all who in Thy Realm loyal shall stand.

WHICH IS THE RIGHTFUL LAW ?

This I beseech of You and, Asha, tell me,
 What in Thy wisdom lies make fully known ;
 Aright to judge I seek how this to utter,
 That holy law † which guides ever Thine own.

WHO SHALL REORGANIZE ?

Let then these words be heard, heeded by good men ; ‡
 Hear Thou, Ahura, too their holy sound ;
 " Who, prince allied, or who native, with off'rings,
 Who for the people Thy praises shall found ? "

OUR PRINCES STILL THE MEN.

'Tis Frashaoshtra ;—then grant him that power,
 Headship of ritual with statutes' command ;
 Make us first princes in ministration,
 Foremost for ever, and ruling the land !

NO TRAITOR'S COMPROMISE.

Hear he the law then as prince fit to lead us ;
 Let no true saint hold his rule with the knave ;
 Souls should unite in best Recompense only
 With Jâmâsp so blended is Vîshtâsp the brave !

THE END CONFIDED.

These lay I safest, Lord, in Thy protection
 Men who are holy here, souls passed from sight ; †
 Self-humbling praise I'll yield with full devotion,
 With wisest ruling and * deathless might.

* In spite of the reverse.

† *Lit.*, "by the good mind." This is the very important connection which enforces the rendering "good-minded (men)."

‡ *Lit.*, "with the good mind."

REVENGE.

But evil kings to meet, liars, mal'factors,
Men believing Falsehood's creed, minds filled with gall
With poisoned food, to meet lost souls are coming,
In the Lie's hell at last their bodies fall!

WHAT HELP?*

What help hast Thou then for him whò calls through
Asha?

For Zarathushtra what with good mind's quest
This ask I, Mazda, Lord, with praises praying
What in Your Holy might lives as the best!

Y. 49, *Word-for-word, with explanatory glosses.*—1. "Yes, Beñdva [the polluted chief of our dread enemies] hath ever fought with-me, [he] the-greatest [of us two—that is, the victor; (b)-he hath fought as 'the greatest, with me] who [am now] endeavouring-to-win-over the evil-intentioned [disaffected Mazda-worshippers] with-asha [here meaning 'with the holy rites, and with the just honesty which they express']; (c) come with-the-gift of-good; to-me [are] sorrows; [or 'come to my sorrows (to heal them).'] Or again, but with another reading (N.B.), 'come, rejoice me'; (d) through Thy good mind [inspiring our heroic forces], obtain [for me, or 'impart to me' (*sic*)] his [the Beñdva's] destruction."

4. "[They] who with-perverted-understanding, [*i.e.*, 'with mistaken calculations'] will-increase Aēshma [the Fury-of-the-border-raid] and the-stillness [of desolation (?)] (b) by-their-own tongues, [they] abandoning-all-honest-cattle-toil among-the-toiling-cattle-herders, (c) whose darling-wish [is] not [to work] with-good-doers-of-deeds, [but] with-doers-of-evil-deeds; (d) these [are they who] will-establish the-demon-gods by-what [is] the [perverted]-religious-system † of-our-evil [-foes]."

* See the first strophe of Yasna L.

† Notice that it is possible that even the sacrosanct word *d(a)na* could be applied to the false creed of the opposers. This proves an advanced

7. "This-also, O-Mazda, let-him-hear [who is endowed] with-[Thy]-good-mind; (b) let-him-hear [as endowed] w th-[Thy]-holy-Law; [and] do-Thou-give-ear, O-Ahura; (c) 'who [as] an-allied peer; who [as] kinsman [of-the-blood-royal] will-there-be, with-his-offerings [or 'his arrangements'] (d) who for-the-stall-[or '-village-']-workman shall-establish a-good-[system of]-worship [toward Thee]."

9. "Let this cattle-prince fashioned [or 'destined'] to-lead-us-to-prosperity hear [then] the-proclamations-[of-Thy law]; (b) let-not the-truth-speaker [of-our-holy-creed be] exercising a-protecting-authority in-common-with-the-evil-[foe], (c) since souls should-unite in-the-best reward; (d) through-the-holy-law [the two are] two-united-ones, the-heroic-one [united] with-Jâmâspa."

discrimination, and adds corroboration to my view that the otherwise favoured terms "Kinsman," "Commoners," and "Peers" in Yasna XXXII, 1, may well refer to the hostile three castes.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHÆA AND THE EASTERN ORIGIN OF THE GRAIL.

BY J. KENNEDY, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

OF all the stories in the vast cycle of Arthurian romance none has exercised a greater influence upon succeeding ages than the legend of the Holy Grail. It became an allegory of the aspirations of the soul, a symbol of that spiritual good after which all noble natures seek; the poets delighted to amplify the tale; and it was accepted for centuries as true history. In 1247 the Patriarch of Jerusalem confided to the care of Henry III. some precious drops of blood washed from the Saviour's wounds by Joseph and Nicodemus, and on the strength of the Grail legend the representatives of England claimed precedence over the envoys of Scotland, Spain, and France at the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle. Hardly could the world be persuaded that the whole story was a pure romance.

And yet the origin of the Grail is as mysterious as the Grail itself. The incidents of the story, its materials and atmosphere, are obviously Celtic. The Grail Castle was supposed to be in Logres, or Loegria, the kingdom of Locrin, that son of Brut who ruled all England south of the Humber. But in reality Loegria is No Man's Land, the region of Faery, where fearless knights, armed cap-à-pie, ride solitary in search of adventures through darksome woods, or by streams and flower-starred meadows in a champaign land, and the maidens of the springs refresh the weary traveller, and beauteous damsels wander in distress, and the sunshine glances among the trees, where to-morrow is as yesterday and the seasons are ever one. The air is full of enchantments, and the shadowing of invisible spirits; mysterious voices are heard, mystic words are spoken; there are evanescent apparitions, startling appearances, sudden vanishings. The hero stumbles on a

sylvan chapel, and while he is witnessing the obsequies of a slain knight a black hand puts out the altar lights. Or he comes to the Grail Castle in a profound solitude, and he is ushered into a hall where an aged king lies wounded ; around him are brilliant knights and lovely damsels ; and of a sudden the hall resounds with a wailing coronach which strikes terror into every heart. Loegria is a region where everything is possible and nothing is real.

The Orientalist who seeks for any trace of Indian ideas will find little to reward him. The coincidences are both rare and slight. A Buddhist birth-story tells how the king of the wild geese threw himself at the feet of a starving saint ; a wild goose also falls wounded at the feet of Sir Perceval upon the snow, but the blood upon the snow reminds Perceval of the vermeil cheeks of his lady Blanche-fleur. And so forth.

But behind all the web and circumstance of the story, the interminable adventures and fantastic exploits, there is the idea of the Grail. Whence came it? Was it too Celtic? as Mr. Nutt conjectures, connecting it with various cauldrons of abundance possessed by the Celtic gods. Or was it some imaginative Crusader's version of the Begging Bowl of Buddha? as has often been suggested. Or was it a natural development of the legend of Joseph of Arimathæa related in the "Gospel of Nicodemus?" All these conjectures have had their advocates ; a fourth will be presented in the following pages.

The Grail romances deal with two subjects which, though often intermixed, are essentially distinct—the quest of the Grail, and the history of the Grail itself. We are concerned only with the latter. But before the question of origins can be considered it is necessary for the understanding of the question to sketch briefly the literary history of the Grail romances, the unravelling of which has occupied specialists for three-quarters of a century ; and also to give an outline of the legend.

The literary history as presented in Mr. Nutt's exhaustive

"Studies of the Legend of the Holy Grail" may be summed up thus: The Norman Conquest, which overthrew the Saxon oligarchy, gave life and self-consciousness to the British Celt; and the Celtic imagination, under the stimulus of the Crusades and the chivalrous ideals of the time, gave birth in the twelfth century to that wonderful outburst of Celtic literature called the Arthurian Cycle. This Celtic spirit inspires the delightful history of the veracious Geoffrey of Monmouth, which was written before 1147. Geoffrey's hero, King Arthur, overthrows the heathen, conquers all the neighbouring countries, and is about to take Rome, when he is recalled to Britain by the infidelity of his wife and the treachery of his nephew. Geoffrey's work soon became popular, and furnished the romance-writers with a starting-point; but the Arthurian romance itself did not take shape until after 1170. Henry II. was fond of literature, and a patron of literary men; and various Franco-British writers, clerical and lay, chiefly subjects or courtiers of his, worked out in Latin or in Norman-French the first outlines. One among the romances narrated the adventures of a wondrous knight, Sir Perceval, in search of an enchanted castle which possessed a broken sword, a bleeding lance, and other talismans. The original sketch has not survived, but there was nothing among the talismans which corresponded with the Grail; or if there was, it had not its later meaning, and did not form an object of transcendent interest. The first to mention the Grail by name is Chrestien of Troyes, the most celebrated poet of his time. His work was composed about 1189-90, or a little earlier, and was never finished. But the idea of the Grail, from whatever quarter Chrestien and others may have got it, became at once so popular, and opened up such vistas of allegory and adventure, that, according to Mr. Nutt, at least six Grail romances saw the light within the next ten years; and the poets and prose-romancers continued to work the theme for thirty or forty years more, abridging, altering, or expanding the materials. From its earliest introduction the Grail had at once become

pre-eminent among the talismans, and entirely remoulded their character.

The question, then, is, From what quarter did Chrestien and his contemporaries obtain their idea of the Grail? The romances which deal with the quest are somewhat earlier than those which deal with the antecedent history of the Grail. Was the history of the Grail introduced with the Grail itself? Or was the legend, especially that form of it connected with Joseph of Arimathæa, a subsequent invention?

The story of the Grail has come down to us in two very dissimilar versions. One version is peculiar to Wolfram von Eschenbach, the poet of the Thuringian Court, whose poem of "Parcival" was composed about 1204. According to Wolfram, the Grail was a magic stone from heaven, which shone like a captive star with a glorious light, and sustained man with food and drink. Its magic virtue was maintained by a dove which weekly laid a Host upon it. After the fall of the rebel angels this stone was given to Titurel and his seed, the princely line of Anjou, the English Plantagenets, and it was guarded in a magic castle by a celibate order of knights whom it chose itself—the Templeisen.

All the other romance-writers associate the Grail with Joseph of Arimathæa. The Grail was the vessel used by Joseph at the entombment when he washed the sacred blood from the Saviour's wounds; it was also the dish used by our Lord at the institution of the Last Supper, and had been presented to Joseph by Pilate. For his share in the entombment the Jews immured Joseph in a darksome prison, and this vessel brought him supernatural illumination and support. After forty years Vespasian released him, and he travelled to the East, bearing the Grail. In this eastern country he made converts and disciples, and instituted a second Round Table in imitation of the Round Table which our Lord had instituted at the Last Supper. Moreover, he selected one of his disciples to be the Grail-keeper, who, with his successors, was alone to

be entrusted with the ineffable secrets of the Grail. Finally Joseph and the disciples, carrying the Grail, came to England. There they erected the Grail Castle, long sought by many a knight, and in this castle the Grail rested until there came the peerless warrior who was predestined to achieve the quest and resolve the enchantments of the land. With the achievement of the quest the story ended, and the Grail returned, some said to the East and some to heaven.

This is more or less the general framework of the story, but with regard to the details and the *dramatis personæ*, we have two entirely different accounts. The ordinary one takes Joseph and his son Josephes, or Josaphes, from Jerusalem to Sarras, a town eleven days' journey distant, between Babilone and Salavandas; the Saracens get their name from it. Joseph enables the Saracen King Evalach to obtain the victory over the Egyptian Tholomes by the virtue of a red cross, and Evalach and his sister's husband Seraphe are baptized, and known henceforward as Mordrains and Nasciens. Josephes is the keeper of the Grail. Nasciens is the first to learn its secrets from Josephes, and the appointed knight is to be of Nasciens' seed.

The company travel to the sea. Josephes spreads his shirt upon the waves, and transports Joseph and the disciples from Palestine to Britain. In Britain they are favoured by one King, persecuted and thrown into prison by another, but the Grail supplies their wants; and Mordrains, urged by a celestial warning, appears and delivers them.

The other version is associated with the name of Robert de Borron [*circa* 1170-1212], but although more or less contemporary with the first, it only betrays a slight acquaintance with it, and remained itself little known. This version is profoundly religious and mystical. It knows nothing of Josephes and the actors named above, and is largely occupied with the doings at Jerusalem. After Joseph's delivery from prison by Vespasian, he

departs with his sister Enygeus, her husband Brons, and their son Alein, to a far country of the East, where Joseph institutes the round table and appoints Brons and his heirs to be the guardians of the Grail. Brons departs with it to his native country, England, Joseph apparently accompanying him; but as Borron's poem was never finished, we do not know the subsequent history.

The working out of both these versions is Celtic. Both employ the duodenary system characteristic of the Celt; Brons has twelve sons, and Josephes performs a miracle of feeding with twelve loaves. Both lay stress on descent from the sister's side; in the one case the destined knight is descended from Joseph's sister, in the other from Mordrains. Brons and Alein are Britons by birth; Brons is the Celtic Brennus and Bran; Alein, according to Geoffrey, was the first inhabitant of Europe. Josephes, Mordrains, and Nasciens are exceptions, being baptismal names, not pagan. The romance-writers tell us that Josephes has no connection with the Jewish historian, and it seems more probable that the name and the idea are borrowed from Joasaf (*Bodhisat*), the ascetic son of the Indian King, whose fame was at this time filling Western Europe. The Latin manuscripts of the Joasaf legend go back to the twelfth century; a scene from it is represented on the baptistry at Parma (1176); and in the commencement of the thirteenth century Gui de Cambray and others made it the subject of their poems in French. Now the Norman *trouvères* call Joasaph Josaphaz, and the Josephes or Josaphes of the Grail legend appears to be modelled after him in more respects than one.

Thus the working out of the Grail story is Celtic, but the material is not. The romance-writers had two sources from which they took, not the Grail, but so much of the legend as related to Joseph.

The first is a group of apocryphal writings known as the "Gospel of Nicodemus," the "Narrative of Joseph," and the "Avenging of the Saviour," etc. These apocrypha deal

with the trial before Pontius Pilate, the history of the two crucified thieves, the crucifixion, and the descent into hell. In these apocrypha Joseph is immured after the crucifixion in a windowless prison by the Jews, and delivered by Christ, who appears in an ineffable blaze of light, and transports him to his home in Arimathæa. The "Gospel of Nicodemus" was little known in Western Europe, but it was a favourite in England, and various Saxon works between the eighth and eleventh centuries are based upon it. It was also popular in the East, and penetrated as far as Central Asia. Professor Cowell shows that a ninth-century Tibetan story of the Buddhist Avalokiteswara imitates it closely. The "Avenging of the Saviour" had a still closer relation with the Grail romances. This is a barbarous Latin work of the seventh or eighth century, and was known in England in an Anglo-Saxon version. According to it the Emperor Tiberius is cured of his leprosy by the portrait of our Lord which Nicodemus's sister Veronica possessed. Titus is a Prince of Equitania, in the country of Lybia, who is healed of a mortal disease by a profession of Christianity; and he and Vespasian destroy Jerusalem, and sell the captive Jews, thirty for a denarius. The romance-writers, better historians than the hagiographers, have identified Vespasian and Titus with the Emperors, and make Joseph's imprisonment last for forty years; Christ appears to him in prison, and he is miraculously fed by the Grail; Vespasian delivers him, and sells the Jews, thirty for a silver penny. Veronica is also mentioned by name; she was the woman cured of an issue of blood, and Evalach's wife was her daughter.

These apocrypha sufficed for the early history of Joseph; a local legend of the conversion of Britain supplied the romancers with their second source.

Christianity reached Britain before the end of the second century, according to Tertullian. Origen knew of Christians in England, and the Bishops of York, London, and Lincoln (or more probably of the City of Legions, Cærlon, for the

reading is uncertain) attended the Council of Arles; and although Christianity and morals became barbarous after the departure of the Romans, the *memorials* of the martyrs were held in veneration down to Saxon times. But the actual history had been long forgotten, and the earliest legend of the introduction of Christianity into England is to be found in the "Liber Pontificalis" and in Bede. This legend is also mentioned later by Nenius, and magnificently amplified by Geoffrey. A British King, Lucius, it is said, applied to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 171-185) for Christian teachers, and the Pope sent Phaganus and Deruvianus, who baptized the King and converted the people. No British King named Lucius is known, but in the "Evangelium Nicodemi" Lucius and Karinus rise from the dead to narrate the Saviour's descent into Hades; and Harnack thinks that the whole story of the British Lucius was suggested by the Veronica legend and the ancient story of Abgarus. This legend of Lucius was the universally accepted history of Christianity in England in the twelfth century, but William of Malmesbury, a Somerset man, and the most accurate historian of his time, who died in 1142-43, in his work on the "Antiquities of the Church of Glastonbury," gives a second legend, which is of much more importance for our purpose. He says that in consequence of the persecution at Jerusalem the Apostle "St. Philip came to the country of the Franks (as Freclusus testifies, Book II. chap. iv.) with the object of preaching, and made many converts to the faith whom he baptized. Wishing, then, to spread the Gospel of Christ, he selected twelve of his disciples, and sent them to Britain to spread the good news of the Word of Life, and to preach the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, extending his right hand (in consecration) most devoutly over each of them; and at their head, as people say (*ut ferunt*), he put his very dear friend Joseph of Arimathæa, the same who had buried the Lord." This was in A.D. 63. The British King (whom later legend identified as Arviragus) declined to abandon the religion of

his fathers, but he gave the twelve disciples for their habitation a certain island called Yniswitrin (Yniswitrin) amid woods and fish-abounding streams and marshes on the borders of his kingdom ; and being directed by the Archangel Gabriel to erect a church in this desert to the honour of the Mother of God, they were not disobedient to the heavenly command, and straightway erected a chapel with the branches of trees, rude in material but rich in virtue, which chapel our Lord Himself dedicated to the honour of His Mother. This happened in the thirty-first year after the Passion of the Lord and the fifteenth after the Assumption of the Virgin. Thus the twelve saints, passing their time in prayer and vigil and fast, were refreshed in all their necessities by the aid and vision of the Virgin. After their death the place again became a jungle. But the twelve hides of land with which three British Kings had endowed them were known as the twelve hides of the Glastonbury Church, and enjoyed special privileges in the days of the Plantagenets.

William proceeds to connect this story with the story of King Lucius. He says : " Trustworthy chronicles inform us that Lucius, King of the Britons, sent to Eleutherus, the thirteenth Pope after St. Peter, for teachers. The Pope sent two most holy men, Phaganus and Deruvianus, who baptized the King and his people. Thus preaching and baptizing, they traversed the country and penetrated its deserts, until they came to the island of Avalon, where they found the ancient chapel built by the disciples of Christ, which the Maker of the Heavens had consecrated to Himself and His Mother, as many miracles and mystic virtues proved. Phagan and Deruvian, finding the oratory, rejoiced with exceeding joy, and abode there for nine years, and found by the many signs of our salvation that the Lord had chosen this spot before all others in Britain. They also found from an ancient writing that on the dispersion of the Apostles the Apostle Philip had come with a multitude of disciples to France, and had sent twelve

of them to preach in Britain, who had erected a chapel by angelical revelation, a chapel which the Son of the Most High afterwards dedicated to His Mother. Phagan and Deruvian, therefore, in imitation of the first twelve, instituted a second order of twelve to dwell where the first twelve had dwelt. These anchorites continued to dwell there, always preserving the number of twelve, until the arrival of St. Patrick, who became their Abbot, and formed them into a monastic community after the Egyptian fashion."

This story is confirmed, says William, by the letters of St. Edmund, who declares that the hands of no common men built the church of Glastonbury, but Christ's own disciples, sent hither by the Apostle Philip. There are several subsequent references to these twelve disciples whom William calls the disciples of the Lord, or the disciples of St. Philip and St. James,* as well as to the community founded by Phagan and Deruvian.

William also gives at length an extract from St. Patrick's writings, in which St. Patrick, after referring to the disciples of Philip and of Phagan and Deruvian, tells how he set forth one day to climb a densely-wooded hill of the island, accompanied by Brother Wallius. They reached the top of the hill with difficulty, and there they found an ancient oratory, ruinous but serviceable. Entering it, they were filled with supernal sweetness, and believed themselves in Paradise. They also found a much-injured book, which related the acts of the Apostles (St. Philip and St. James), and of Phagan and Deruvian, and also set forth that Phagan and Deruvian, by the revelation of Jesus Christ, had built this oratory to the honour of St. Michael. Here Patrick and his companions stayed three months, surrounded by demons and wild beasts in manifold shapes. One night Jesus Christ appeared to Patrick in sleep,

* Medieval writers frequently conjoined these two Apostles. Duchesne says that it was because they had a common festival and a common *basilica* at Rome. William does not mean to imply that St. James had anything to do with England.

saying : " Know, My servant Patrick, that I have chosen this place for the honour of My name, and as the place where men may invoke the aid of My Archangel Michael."

Here, then, it appears to me, we have all the elements of the Grail romance, so far as St. Joseph of Arimathæa is concerned—in fact, everything except the Grail itself. The apocrypha supplied the history of Joseph at Jerusalem ; the Glastonbury legends suggested the rest. Christianity is brought to England by the disciples of St. Philip, who are also called the disciples of Christ, with Joseph of Arimathæa at their head ; they live together as anchorites in the island of Avalon ; and the centre of the community is a miraculous chapel consecrated by Christ. Are not these the prototypes of the keepers of the Holy Grail, living in retirement from the world ? The legend and the romances employ the same machinery—the heavenly voices and the apparitions of Christ. In the legend the miraculous chapel of the Virgin is reduplicated in the oratory of St. Michael ; the romance also has a double of the Grail Castle in the Castle of the Magic Chessboard. King Arthur's round table was no doubt of Celtic origin. It first appears in Wace's version of Geoffrey's " British History," and speedily acquired a mystic meaning. It was said to have been constructed by the wizard Merlin in imitation of " the roundness of the world and of the firmament "; in short, it corresponded generally to the famous Buddhist wheel of life. In the Grail romances, however, King Arthur's round table is only the third of a series ; it was preceded by two others—the one instituted by our Lord at the Last Supper, the other by St. Joseph of Arimathæa in connection with the Grail. These two tables appear to me a reproduction of the two sodalities of the Glastonbury legend—the first of the twelve disciples of our Lord, the second of the twelve disciples of Phagan and Deruvian. Lastly, the " Grand St. Graal " expressly refers to the Glastonbury legend when it makes Joseph to be baptized by St. Philip.

The mention of Joseph by William of Malmesbury is often regarded as an interpolation in his history due to the romance itself. Objection is chiefly taken on the ground that, had any such legend been in existence in William's time, Geoffrey would not have failed to mention it. But the same objection applies to the story of the twelve disciples of St. Philip, and that is an integral part of William's work. William was a Somerset man, and he here repeats a local legend of the county, giving his authority for it, as was his wont. Freculsus, a French writer of the ninth century, was the authority for the mission of the twelve disciples, and the local tradition of Glastonbury put Joseph at their head. This remark is exactly in William's manner and in its proper place, and the mention of Joseph in the text of William's history at a very early period is proved by the use of it by Capograevius, the source from which later hagiographers got their material. Capograevius does not mention William, but he gives William's reference to Freculsus as covering both statements, although, as the Bollandists say, Freculsus makes no mention of Joseph.*

The history of the Glastonbury legend appears to have been this: Glastonbury was probably a place of peculiar sanctity, even in pre-Christian times. A charter of Ina, King of the West Saxons (688-727) mentions the chapel at Glastonbury which Christ Himself had dedicated to His Mother, and round this chapel the Church and Abbey of Glastonbury had grown up. Freculsus, describing the dispersion of the Apostles through the world, mentioned the mission to England of the twelve disciples of St. Philip, and it was natural that they should settle in Glastonbury as the holiest spot in Britain, precisely as local legend brought thither the missionaries of Pope Eleutherus. Lastly, the

* There is, of course, another passage of William's work which mentions Joseph and his son Josephes, and is an obvious interpolation. It is omitted in one manuscript, is inserted in the margin of a second, and incorporated in the text of a third. It is out of place, and inconsistent with what precedes it; and it quotes the Arthurian romance. But this does not affect the genuineness of the passage I have quoted above.

Apocrypha had made Joseph of Arimathæa popular in England, and, as Glastonbury claimed a share in all the saints of Britain, some monk included him among the Lord's disciples who had brought Christianity to this country.

We have now explored the whole history of the Joseph legend, and we find that it contains no hint of the Grail; the Grail is as extraneous to it as it is to the Welsh version of Sir Perceval. Whence, then, came the Grail? Regarding its properties the romance-writers are agreed, but they differ as to what it really was. The Grail was always a peculiarly sacred object, and was connected either from the beginning, or at any rate from a very early period, with the Sacrament of the Altar. Its properties were both physical and spiritual: it filled the man with every kind of food and drink that the heart could desire; it also radiated forth a supernatural illumination. "The devil may not lead any man astray on the day he sees" the Grail. Its radiance is its most constant quality. It "shines so that it puts out the light of the candles" in Chrestien's poem "as the sun does that of the stars"; but although it appears at the banquets of the Grail Castle, it also appears without them. Now this Grail, according to Wolfram, was a stone from heaven on which a dove weekly laid a Host. According to the others, it was the vessel in which Joseph of Arimathæa collected the blood which flowed from the sacred wounds at the entombment or from the cross, and that, again, was identified with the dish our Lord had used at the Last Supper. Which of these two versions are we to consider as original?

Wolfram professes to have derived his account from a Provençal poet, Kyot (or Guyot), who had got it from a book written in a heathen tongue by a certain heathen named Flegetanis of Toledo. Wolfram's statement has been often questioned, but, according to Mr. Nutt, "the genealogical legend of the Angevin Princes (our English Plantagenets) . . . and the Southern French affinities in the personal and place names" make it certain that the German

poet must in many of his particulars have been "following a French source, which again must have been very different from Chrestien's." The Grail, then, according to Wolfram, came to Christendom through the Arabic; indeed, Wolfram speaks of a Queen Iblis. There are several reasons, I think, for accepting Wolfram's statement.

1. Had the Grail been always associated with the Saviour's blood, the blood itself must have been the most sacred object, not the Grail. But it is only at the latest stage that the blood becomes the chief relic.

2. According to Ducange *grasale* (or *gradale*) and its French equivalents, *grasal*, *graal*, or *grail* (plural *greaux*) were words in common use at this time to denote a shallow bowl or basin, large or small, *grasale* being itself a derivative from the Latin *cratera*. Chrestien, who first mentions the Grail, does not say that it was a bowl, or associate it with Joseph, and it is much more probable that the Grail of Chrestien and of Guyot should have been a corruption of some Arabic word than that Wolfram should have been ignorant of the common French meaning. His countryman, Heinrich von dem Türlin, translated it correctly enough.

3. The romance-writers themselves were evidently puzzled by the Grail. When Nasciens first saw the Grail, the only name he could give it was Grail, because it was so agreeable, a puerile pun several times repeated.

4. It is impossible to derive Wolfram's magic stone from the ordinary French, while the ordinary French would at once suggest the usual explanation of the Grail.

5. Wolfram and the other romance-writers agree in bringing the Grail from the East.

I conclude, then, that Wolfram, who alone offers any rational account of the matter, was in the right; and this opinion is confirmed by the failure of every other explanation. The Joseph legend, as we have seen, contains no hint of it. Celtic mythology, like other mythologies, possesses cauldrons of abundance, but none of these can be brought into connection with the actors of the Grail except

in the most hypothetical fashion ; none of them figure in the prototypes of the Perceval story, and none of them possesses the primary quality of supernatural radiance.

Accepting, then, Wolfram's version, we have first to seek for an Eastern original for it, and next to show the concatenation of ideas which connected it with the Joseph legend. Arabic magic (which is secondary at the best) abounds in magic formulæ and spells and the search for the Great Name ; but it does not deal in magic stones. The name *Flegetanis*, however, judging by its suffix, would rather indicate a Persian origin—a man called, according to a very usual fashion, after the name of his "stān," or country. Now, there is one Christian legend of the East which has various remarkable affinities with the Grail, and may have suggested it. Gregory of Tours tells us, on the authority of a certain Theodoric who had travelled to the shrines of St. Thomas in Edessa and India, that a great marvel was to be seen in India at the tomb of the Apostle. A log which was before the altar-tomb shone day and night with a supernatural light. The flame was fed by neither oil nor rushes, nor was the log consumed ; it was sustained by a certain inherent and Divine virtue. Similarly luminous images of Buddha in India were known to Hiuen-tsang.

This legend must have been known in Edessa, which possessed the relics of the Apostle, and had built a magnificent *martyrium* in his honour, and was throughout these centuries in regular communication with the Indian Christians. The Turkish Emir of Mosul captured Edessa in 1142, and the Edessenes, flying westwards, may have carried this legend with them, if it lasted till the twelfth century. In India the recollection of the miraculous log lasted till the fourteenth century, although in a much altered form. Now, between the legend of this miraculous log and the legend of the Grail there are many affinities. According to the universal belief of the East, St. Thomas was not only the twin but the double of Christ. Christ had left an empty tomb ; the tomb of St. Thomas at

Mailapur was also empty. This tomb was an altar ; the miraculous log shone before it with a Divine light ; it was connected with the altar-tomb, and yet distinct from it. The Grail also was closely connected with the Sacrament of the Altar, and yet distinct from the altar ; it, too, shone with a marvellous light, and the altar of the Grail was the tomb of Christ. The magic stone of Wolfram and the magic log of St. Thomas are not far apart. In this version, of course, the supernatural light is the primary quality ; the idea of miraculous feeding is secondary. The Sacrament of the Altar supplies Christians with their spiritual food and drink, and in medieval legend this idea would be readily materialized, and transferred to any talisman closely connected with the altar. The miraculous log of St. Thomas had disappeared ; the Grail was carried up to heaven. The connection of the two legends is, of course, not proven, but it is not impossible, and it is suggestive—that is, assuming, as I do, that Wolfram's version is the true one.

Wolfram (or Guyot) did not connect the Grail with Joseph of Arimathæa, and there is nothing to show that Chrestien, or Chrestien's continuator, Gautier de Douzens, did so ; but the connection was made within a very short time, and it must have been the work of men acquainted with the Glastonbury legend. They are the authors of the true Grail with all its spiritual significance. Two motives would urge them : Glastonbury claimed to be the most sacred spot in Britain ; the Lord Himself had chosen it, and His earliest disciples had lived there. It was also the burying-place of all the greatest saints and heroes of England : of St. Patrick and the renowned Arthur, and the fair-haired Guinevere, and the great Saxon saints, St. Bede, and St. Hilda, and St. Dunstan, and the rest. The monks were indefatigable in collecting and stealing bones. In Celtic myths Avalon had been the Paradise of heroes and of holy men beyond the western sea ; but the days of paganism were long since passed, and here was the true Avalon, as William habitually calls it, explaining the word by absurd

guesses. The first impulse, then, was to glorify Glastonbury, the second to glorify England. At the end of the twelfth century the monks of the West were competing for the honour of their respective countries as to who first introduced Christianity. Old legends were elaborated or new ones invented. Spain claimed St. James for her Apostle. St. Denys had been too long in possession of France to be ousted, but a legend which sprang up simultaneously with the Grail brought Lazarus and Martha and Mary the Magdalene to Marseilles. Like Joseph's company, they were miraculously wafted across the sea—indeed, Joseph was sometimes said to have been of the party. It was the age of the Crusades, an age also of great literary activity, and most of the legends which sprang up at that time (and they were numerous) show traces of the East. To go no farther than the legend just mentioned, we find that the Magdalene was borne aloft in the air by angels when she prayed. Now, this was a common occurrence with the Buddhist saints, and Apollonius of Tyana had made the Brahmans rise into the air at their devotions. In pushing the claims of their local hero, Joseph of Arimathæa, the monks of Glastonbury were doing exactly what their confrères were doing in Aquitaine and Spain. They were a studious race. Abbot Henry of Blois (1126-1161), nephew of King Henry I., had the lives of the Cæsars, and the histories of the Britons, of the Angles, and of the Franks, transcribed in the monastery, and he presented it with a valuable Saracenic carpet. If Saracenic manufactures could travel so far, so also could Saracenic ideas. His successor, Abbot Robert (1161-1168), provided the monks with extra good cheer and wine on five special festivals, and one of these was the festival of St. Thomas.

But the local hero, Joseph of Arimathæa, could scarcely have maintained the glory of Glastonbury and of England against the Magdalene or the Apostle St. James if it had not been for the possession of the Grail. The connection

between Joseph and the Grail is not evident at first sight. The Veronica legend, which played so great a part in the story of King Lucius and Pope Eleutherus, and which also figures frequently in the Grail romances, possibly supplied the link. Veronica had obtained the impress of the Saviour's face on a cloth; Joseph had wrapped His body in fine linen. This linen was stained with the blood, and when washed the blood and water would be rinsed into a laver. But a laver would be called a grail in ordinary parlance, and one had just heard of this mysterious Grail that the Arthurian Knights were searching for. What more wonderful or sacred relic could there be than the vessel which once held the Saviour's blood? The transition from this to the dish used by our Lord at the Last Supper would be easy; the words of the Institution, "This is My blood," would at once suggest it. That this was the line of thought is pretty clear from the hagiographers.

The rapidity with which the whole idea was elaborated after the first mention of the Grail appears at first sight marvellous. But the Angevins were not only Kings of England, but Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine and Counts of Anjou. They possessed more of French territory than the King of the French. Henry II.'s wife was from Provence; his daughter was married to the King of Sicily. His influence was supreme wherever there were Normans, and wherever there were Normans there were Englishmen. The Archbishop and Bishops of Palermo and Tarentum and Agrigentum were Englishmen. England possessed more of the Continent of Europe than she has ever since possessed, and there is abundant evidence of the rapidity with which these romances spread through all her dominions.

It has sometimes been suggested that the Arthurian romances were intended to revive the political hopes of the British Celts, and that the Grail legend in particular was meant to suggest the separatist tendencies of the British Church. But all this seems very doubtful. A very early

tradition connects the origin of the Arthurian romance with the Court of Henry II. Both Geoffrey and the romancers told how Arthur, mortally wounded, had sailed for the island of Avalon ; and the Britons, it is said, were awaiting the return of their hero when he was healed of his wound. To disprove this expectation, it is alleged, Abbot Henry of Sollaco, a blood-relation and an intimate friend of Henry II., in accordance with King Henry's instructions, erected a sumptuous marble tomb for the bones of Arthur and Guinevre in Glastonbury Abbey. The story rests on the authority of Adam of Domerham, a thirteenth-century chronicler, who wrote the Annals of the Abbey. The manuscripts differ greatly in their account of the matter, but the erection of the monument about this time is practically certain ; it was afterwards opened by Edward I. But it is quite clear that this had no political significance. William of Malmesbury, writing before 1140, had described at length the tomb of Arthur and Guinevre between two strangely-sculptured pyramids, or obelisks, in the Glastonbury churchyard. Henry II. had possessed himself of the revenues of the Abbey from 1168 to 1184, and Henry of Sollaco was not appointed Abbot until after King Henry's death. Moreover, the supposition of any antagonism between the Briton and the Norman at this period is gratuitous. The Norman Conquest, by depressing the Saxon, raised the position and the spirits of the British Celt, precisely as the English Conquest of India depressed the Mahomedans, and so raised the Hindus. Geoffrey portrays the British as the enemies of the Saxons and friendly to the Normans. The fact of Arthur's death had been fully accepted before King Henry's time, and if any political advantage were to be gained by the exhumation, Henry would not have delayed the doing of it when he was master of the Abbey. What Adam's narrative really proves is Henry's knowledge of and fondness for the Arthurian romances.

The supposed opposition between the Britons and the

Church of Rome is equally unfounded. The "Grand St. Graal" claims, indeed, to have been written by Christ Himself, who wrote nothing else except the Lord's Prayer and the judgment of the woman taken in adultery. It further says that Christ in person consecrated Josephes to the Bishopric. But the "Grand St. Graal," in its earlier form, appears to have been closely connected with Glastonbury, and Glastonbury legends will explain both these statements. Christ Himself had consecrated the earliest Church in that favoured spot. He had also written on the ground when the sinful woman was brought before His judgment-seat. Although the Arthurian romances claimed to be true history, there were sceptics, and one minstrel expressly boasts that he could lie as well as Walter Map. Why should not Christ, who had consecrated the Church, also write the history of its most sacred possession? Josephes did not set up a line of Bishops or start a separate Church; he had no successors in his Bishopric any more than the twelve disciples had who settled at Avalon.

The opposition between the early Celtic missionaries and the Roman Church had been long forgotten, and Celtic missionaries from the eighth century onwards had been the chief agents in reducing the pagans of Northern Europe to the obedience of Rome. Doctrinal prepossessions are obvious with the compilers of the "Grand St. Graal." They dwell on the doctrine of the Trinity to which the Celtic mind was predisposed from its love for Triads. They strive in every way to deepen the mystery of the Real Presence, which had been promulgated not very long before as an article of faith by Pope Gregory VII. Monkish continence and virginity are the chief virtues, and conversion to the true religion is the lot of vanquished Knights and rescued Queens. But of any revolt against the authority or the doctrines of the Church there is no trace, any more than there is of the quarrel of Henry with the Pope. That quarrel did not question the spiritual

authority of Rome ; it turned on the boundary of ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction.

So little, indeed, of real heterodoxy is there in the Grail romance that the English envoys were able to appeal to it for their claim to precedence in the Councils of Christendom. Romans and Britons were on the friendliest terms. According to Geoffrey, Arviragus had married the daughter of the Emperor Claudius. The Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, was British, Guinevere was a Roman lady, and Roman blood ran in the veins of Arthur. And as Geoffrey exalted the valour and political greatness of the ancient Britons, so did Glastonbury men exalt their spiritual glory. This was the occasion and the main object of the Grail romance.

And here we leave the medieval legend of the Holy Grail, which, despite aimless episodes and wearisome adventures, has impressed itself so deeply on succeeding ages by its mystic allegory and profound spiritual significance. Three points in its history appear to be clear : (1) Whatever the primary significance of the Grail, or from whatever source it may have been derived, it originally had no connection with the legend of St. Joseph. (2) The connection between the two was the work of Glastonbury monks, or of persons acquainted with the Glastonbury legend. (3) The authors were intent neither on political aims nor on religious heresies ; they romanced for the greater glory of Glastonbury and of England.

MODERN MOROCCO.

BY ANON.

THE word *maghzen* often occurs in the press telegrams concerning Morocco affairs, but not many people find it possible to ascertain what the precise signification is. It appears that, when the first Arab dynasties founded the state of Maghreb-el-Aksa, or the "Extreme West," in the eighth century, a certain number of tribes found it to their advantage to support the religious power of the first or Edrissite dynasty (788-990). The Zenata dynasty (990-1061), the Almoravides, or dynasty of marabouts (1061-1149), the Almohades (1149-1269), and the Merinides (1269-1524), all had their origin either in overweening tribal power or sudden fanatical enthusiasm; but it was their task to govern the innumerable Berber and Arab tribes (that had hitherto been loosely attached to the Edrissites more by religious ties than by considerations of force) rather by physical than by moral compulsion. Thus it was that the Almohade princes for the first time (contrary to strict Mussulman law) imposed taxes on the more submissive tribes of the plain, and concluded "arrangements" with the less accessible tribes of the mountains. Hence grew up the distinction between the *maghzen* and *siba* populations, which may roughly be translated as the tribes accepting direct rule, and those independent enough to demand special terms. Afterwards a certain number of *maghzen* tribes accepted the liability of military service in lieu of taxation in money or kind, and thus formed a kind of standing army coupled with a standing ruling caste, whose task was to support the *sherif*, or Sultan, and to keep in subjection the tax-paying part of the *maghzen* tribes, as well as the more independent *siba*.

But when the Turks began to create an organized government in their newly acquired province of Algiers, the Saad

dynasty of Morocco (1524-1668) found that, in order to maintain their independence of Turkey, they must reinforce and remodel the militia establishment, which had so far been found quite sufficient to *dividere et imperare* the loose agglomeration of Arab and Berber tribes under their real or nominal sway. They therefore took a leaf from the Turkish book—and it is highly probable that the Turks had gradually acquired this practice ever since, in A.D. 550, they began to move west from the frontiers of China—that is, they incorporated all the more promising tribes conquered by them into their own not very numerous militia, reserving to their own ruling caste the inner and confidential conduct of affairs. It then became the fixed policy of the Saad dynasty to encourage as many fighting tribes as possible of the *siba* category to join the ruling military caste, and thus were formed the two first *maghzen* tribes in the more modern sense—consisting, in fact, partly of recalcitrant tribes on the Morocco-Algiers frontier driven westward by the Turks, and partly of Moors ejected from Spain. It must be mentioned, however, that, previous to the really firm settlement of the Saadian dynasty in 1544, the Turks had intrigued with the displaced Merin princes of Morocco with a view to continuing the latter family in power as puppets of their own. The Saads were succeeded in 1649 by the present Alaouite dynasty, under which the original two *maghzen* tribes have been reinforced by others, and a ruling caste of non-taxpaying land-holders has been gradually developed as the military and civil hedge around the throne. The special task of this class has been to extract all the nutriment it can out of the submissive taxpaying tribes of the lowlands on the one hand, and to sow discord among the lawless *siba*, or unsubmissive mountain tribes, on the other. The latter have never shown any reluctance to accept the nominal suzerainty of the Sultans of Morocco in their religious capacity of *sherif*—possessing the sacred power of “blessing” on great functional occasions—so long as a large measure of practical liberty was left to

them in their own fastnesses. Hence it happens that *maghzen* has gradually come to mean "government body"—i.e., the interests of the Sultan and the *maghzen* tribes have become one and the same, very much in the sense that, in Western countries, the interests of the noble, *Junker*, military, or *tchin* classes have at times tended to this or that form of "conservatism," in contrast to the more liberal interests of the agricultural, labouring, or industrial classes. It is thus easier to understand how the person of the Sultan, amid all revolutions, has always been sacred and safe in the hands of a privileged class dependent upon him for rewards and favours; and the late Sultan Abd-el-Aziz would never have been dethroned by his elder brother Hafid had it not been that his "Christian" innovations had alarmed the *maghzen* about their "rights" on the one hand, and the *siba* about their "liberties" on the other.

In order better to understand the complication in Morocco, and the events which gradually led up to the present situation, it must be explained that Mulay Hassan (father of the present Sultan, Mulay Hafid, and of his younger brother, the deposed Sultan Abd-el-Aziz) carried out to the full the religious and conservative traditions of the monarchy as it had been organized by preceding Arab dynasties—military or religious—and as his predecessors of the now reigning Alaouite dynasty had been careful to maintain it. All the best Sultans of Morocco have been more nomadic than town-living; though, on the other hand, all have from time to time settled temporarily in the Gharb (the fertile tract round Fez) or the Haouz (fertile tract round Marrakesh), as political exigencies seemed to require. Whether in town at one or the other of these two northern and southern capitals, or whether "in camp," the whole *maghzen*, or "government" organization—with the exception of one or two officers whose duties were of the ædilic or of the commercial kind locally—followed in the Sultan's wake; and the Dar-el-Maghzen, or "House of Government," was always arranged in exactly the same

fashion, whether it was a long quadrangle of tents or enclosures rounded off at the four corners, or whether it was a series of fixed courts and buildings of stone and plastered cobbles in quadrangular shape. Mulay Hassan kept the reins of state entirely in his own hands. His Dar-el-Maghzen consisted of two divisions, the court division and the administration division, communication between which two divisions was maintained by a passage or gallery only. His private apartments were in the middle of the court division. The court division was under a chamberlain, and there were four subdivisions in it, each one looking after some department of the Sultan's inner economy, such as the horse, the harem, the kitchen, and so on. Possibly as many as a thousand individuals of all kinds—soldiers, slaves, watchers, labourers, eunuchs, etc.—belonged to this division, which was entirely independent of, and separately organized from, the administrative department. The head of the administrative department, on the other hand, was the Grand Vizier, assisted by (at first) seven other viziers in charge of the interior, foreign, finance, war, and other sub-departments. These under-viziers were only given the title by courtesy, being strictly the sub-viziers of the Grand Vizier, who alone had a legal right to the title. Each of these high officers (gradually increased of late years to a dozen or more) was punctually in his "booth," with his staff of writers and secretaries, at an early hour in the morning, and submitted the daily work of his own subdepartment to the Sultan, who perused the necessary documents himself, and either signed them or gave orders immediately. The Grand Vizier was generally left a free hand to engage his sub-viziers.

The above simple but effective organization was, until the introduction of recent foreign influences, quite sufficient for the adequate discharge of State needs, which in the main were (1) the sowing of dissensions between the semi-independent tribes occupying practically the whole of

Morocco, except the two oases of Fez and Marrakesh, and of the Gharb and Haouz plains surrounding them ; (2) the reinforcing of the *maghzen*, or "submissive tribes," by incorporating from time to time with them the more orderly parts of quarrelling, semi-independent tribes ; (3) collecting, in kind or in money, taxes from the submissive and presents or contributions from the unsubmissive tribes ; (4) organizing *harkas*, or expeditions, against pillaging tribes, and summoning military assistance for this purpose from the semi-independent tribes ; (5) fulfilling strictly all religious and sherifian duties ; (6) keeping the Christian powers at arm's length as much as possible ; (7) preventing the export of horses, mules, and asses, in order not to raise their price, and in order to maintain cheap the only existing means of rapid communication between *maghzen* and tribes.

Mulay Hassan and his predecessors had no objection whatever to their viziers, chamberlains, etc., feathering their own nests, so long as the work brought before them was properly attended to. The Sultans never forget that, although their power was absolute, it rested in the first instance upon the support of the *maghzen*, who were accordingly entitled to share and share alike with their royal selves. But the young Sultan Abd-el-Aziz, who, to begin with, was the son of a Circassian woman, at once began to succumb to European "reform" influences, as soon as Ba Ahmed (the competent Regent his father had committed him to) handed over the reins of State to him. He soon fell under the influence of the brilliant but effeminate young *parvenu*, Si-Mehdi-el-Menebhi ; and, as the public will remember, Menebhi, with his finance colleague Abd-el-Kerim, paid a visit to London about eight years ago in order to arrange for loans, purchases, and other "reforms." Abd-el-Aziz showed no inclination to carry out industriously the daily Dar-el-Maghzen duties so effectively and punctually discharged by his father. The Ministers of State became lax in their attendance ; holidays were now

numerous ; departments overlapped ; officers intrigued to acquire influence over other departments besides their own, and to get at the Sultan's ear at least through his favourite Menebhi ; Menebhi gradually concentrated power in his own hands ; the new "reform" system of "adequate salaries and no squeezes" fell through ; the tribes took advantage of these dissensions to rebel, to demand the settlement of old claims, to get rid of *maghzen* interference, and so on ; religious duties were neglected at headquarters ; the odious Christian began more and more to "corrupt" the Sultan ; squandering and waste became rife in all departments ; and, in a word, *all* parties were thoroughly discontented, both the *maghzen*, the inner ruling caste of the *maghzen*, the semi-independent tribes, the *zaouia*, or religious centres, etc. ; and, in short, Menebhi was at last only able to escape with his life by going on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Now Abd-el-Aziz himself has gone.

Mulay Hafid is described by a British resident of Marrakesh, who has known him well for many years, as being a plump and handsome man of about thirty-five years of age ; he wears a fairly close-cut black beard, and has a vivacious expression of countenance, possessing infinitely more *verve* and decision of character than his brother Abd-el-Aziz. For a good many years he has been Viceroy of the south under his amiable but vacillating and incompetent young brother, and during this time he has succeeded in maintaining excellent order in his viceroyalty. His morals, from a sexual point of view, *laissent à désirer*, and in this respect alone Abd-el-Aziz (whose name, by the way, means "The Slave of the Beloved") is his superior. In the opinion of the British resident in question, it was only the proclamation of Mulay Hafid's succession to the Sultany on August 16 last that saved Marrakesh from pillage by the tribes, who had collected round the city, not to defend it against the troops of Abd-el-Aziz—and possibly the French—but in order to sack and plunder the city during the fraternal contest. So soon as ever Mulay Hafid was proclaimed, these

unruly tribes knew perfectly well that order would be maintained, and they at once dispersed. Order has, ever since, been preserved throughout Morocco.

Mulay—*i.e.*, "My Lord"—Hafid is the fifteenth Sultan of the Alaouite dynasty of Tafleleh, and is the son of an Arab wife, whilst Abd-el-Aziz, as above stated, was born of a Circassian woman. The pretender, Mulay Muhammed, is a much older brother than either of the above two, and is also the son of an Arab wife, but a different one. He is, in fact, the eldest of all the late Mulay Hassan's sons. Mulay Hassan succeeded his father, Sidi Muhammed; and backwards again from him the rulers of the Tafleleh dynasty date from about the year 1620.

P.S.—The following information is interesting, as it contains allusions to African influence.

Few tourists paying a hasty visit to the Canaries take the trouble to examine the troglodyte villages and the museum at Las Palmas, or to make any inquiry into the history of the extinct Guanche race; nor are they aware, when they contemplate the mole at Teneriffe, that it was here Nelson suffered his one defeat, coupled with the loss of an arm; and that the two flags captured from his party still adorn the Church of the Conception hard by. At the town of La Laguna, 1,800 feet above the sea, and seven miles and a half from the same Teneriffe anchorage, may be seen several clumps of dragon-trees, notably one solitary magnificent specimen at least 800 years old, and 50 feet in circumference. The Guanche race were wont to use a decoction obtained from this tree to cure the wrapping of their mummies, and in the Las Palmas Museum may be seen, besides innumerable Guanche skulls, half a dozen complete mummies under a glass case; so like the Egyptian mummies in principle, if not quite so in detail, that it has been suggested the Guanches were either of Egyptian origin, or had at least been under Egyptian influences at times. A good many Guanche words are still colloquially used in the

island, and though not one single specimen of the pure race now survives, it is quite evident from the features of the peasants in the interior—all of whom now speak pure Spanish—that many of them are the product of mixed unions. There is no evidence that they ever possessed a written script. The detailed accounts of the Spaniards of the sixteenth century leave no doubt whatever that a fairly civilized and virile race of men—by many supposed to be of Berber provenance—had for very many generations occupied the islands before the Spaniards took possession of them at the beginning of that century. Even now pottery is locally made without the aid of a wheel by the Spanish peasantry, just as the ancient Guanches used to make it, and just as the Moors of Mogador may still be seen making it outside the city walls: this coincidence tends, in a slight measure, to confirm the theory of Berber origin for the Guanche race, Mogador being only 200 miles away from the group. Some of the Guanches lived to a great age, and certain of the princely caste at least wore long beards down to the waist. A very remarkable and sturdy type of goat is extensively reared on the islands for milking purposes, and it is a well-ascertained fact that the Guanches had brought the rearing of goats to a high pitch of perfection. The race of dogs is very peculiar, too. The cave-dwellings of the Guanches are still occupied by the mixed breed of Spanish peasants, but of course they have been modified and improved so as more to resemble, at least externally, a decent European house. The largest troglodyte village, which may perhaps contain 200 cave dwellings, lies in the direction of the *caldera*, or extinct volcano, about five miles from the Santa Brigida Hotel, which last is at a lofty summer resort, much visited by tourists, called Monte.

A NEW DISCOVERY: THE ANCIENT CHINESE "TAXI-CABS."

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN the *Times* of January 22, there was an item under the head of important University Intelligence, which announced the "unearthing" by Professor H. A. Giles, of Cambridge, during the course of his researches into ancient Chinese history, of nothing more nor less than a "taxi-cab" in the remote ages of the past. So soon as Professor Hopkinson, who in his capacity of engineer had been constructing a trial machine after the description given, should have completed his apparatus, we were promised full specifications. Meanwhile the Press of the world took up the cry on the faith of the *Times'* patronage of this supposed discovery.

My colleague, Professor F. Hirth, of Columbia University, New York, and myself have during the past twenty years frequently discussed the subject of the supposed Chinese "compass," or south-pointing chariot and boat, with a view to showing that, although the loadstone was known to the ancient Chinese, its use for navigating purposes was not understood until the Arab sailors introduced it from the West. Dr. Hirth has made frequent allusion to the specific chapter from which Professor Giles now "unearths" his discovery, even mentioning the "taxi-cab" with its cog-wheels and diameters in A.D. 806 (see "Ancient History of China," pp. 126-136, for a summing-up); and in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1906 (vol. xxxvii., p. 179), I made specific allusion to both the *Ki-li Ch'ê* (Recording-miles Cart), and the *Ki-li Ku-ch'ê* (Recording-miles Drum-cart), the Chinese characters for which are given, and which, it is there clearly pointed out, differed con-

siderably from the south-pointer. The drum-cart, which appears to have been in use for desert travelling as early as the beginning of our Christian era at least, figures in several plates of Professor Chavannes' interesting work, "La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine" (1893), where every imaginable form of ancient Chinese cart is given. In a word, Professor Giles has not made any discovery at all, except in so far as he himself may now have heard of the supposed "taxi-cab" for the first time, and the matter has already at intervals for twenty years past been thrashed out, so far as it is possible to thrash it out: for instance, in the *China Review* for 1891 (vol. xix., p. 54), the late Dr. Chalmers thus describes Professor Giles' "taxi-cab," as specified in the 18th chapter of the "Sung History": "Next followed another machine of similar construction, also drawn by four horses, in which a wooden man beat a drum every time a mile of road was gone over." Dr. Chalmers, like Dr. Hirth and myself, was then principally concerned with the question of the south-pointing chariot, or compass; Dr. Chalmers, moreover, supplied a sketch to show how he supposed, from the account given, the wooden man was worked.

The following extracts from standard Chinese history are herewith placed at the disposal of all. Those who can read Chinese are of course at liberty to refer to the originals, and test the machinery for themselves; for the purposes of this paper it will suffice to describe one single machine minutely, for the use of those persons possessing a taste for mechanical devices who do not read Chinese. If they are curious to know more, the precise references are given below.

*From the Tsin History (Period 265-420), Chapter 25,
page 15.*

The *Ki-li Ku-ch'ê* harnessed four, and its form was like the south-pointer. Inside it there was a wooden man

holding a mallet towards a drum. As each *li* was travelled, the man struck once with the mallet.

The south-governing or south-pointing chariot (above-mentioned) was used as forerunner in the Emperor's travelling *cortège*. There were four horses, and below it (*sic*) was a thing like a three-tiered tower, with golden dragons at the four corners holding plumes in their mouths. A fairy creature was carved out of wood, and clad in feathery clothes, so that, however the cart turned, its hand always pointed to the south. (Dr. Chalmers prints a model of this.)

*From the (Early) Sung History (Period 420-479),
Chapter 18, page 4.*

The origin of the *Ki-li Ch'ê* (Recording-miles Cart) cannot now be ascertained, but the one captured by the founder of our dynasty (A.D. 420-431), when he was reducing the Three Ts'in (province of Shen Si), was modelled like the south-pointer. On the top there was a drum, and whenever the cart had travelled one *li*, a wooden man would give a blow with a mallet. In the imperial *cortège* it came after the south-pointer.

[The above account follows a historical sketch of the south-pointing chariot, which, it is explained, the founder also found at Ch'ang-an (in Shen Si), and which resembled the still more ancient Drum-cart. It headed the Imperial procession; but, it is added, the Tartar-made specimens did not work very accurately, and the works had to be adjusted. A little later a very successful one was constructed, and also a south-pointing boat. One of the Tartar Emperors of the Toba Dynasty also ordered a specimen.] It may be added that the Tibeto-Tartar Emperor Yao Hing, under whom the pilgrim Fah Hien in A.D. 400 visited the West and India, had made a south-pointer, which was rediscovered at this time.

*From the Southern Ts'i History (Period 479-502),
Chapter 17, page 4 (and final note).*

The *Ki-li Ku-ch'ê*. Its make like the south-pointer. Above was spread a gay umbrella (or cover). Violet clothes (*sic*). Lacquered paintings. The drum and machinery all inside.

The south-pointing chariot, with a housing erected on the four-sided box (or bin). The south-pointing man is clad in a petticoated fairy suit. At all the four upper corners inside the box (or bin) are placed young dragons, from which are suspended a kind of flabellum made out of genuine peacock's feathers of different hues. It has a black double curtain made out of black cloth and lacquer-painted wheels. The oxen harnessed to it have all copper-ornamented fittings.

[*Notes of the Modern Editors.*—"According to Ts'ui Pao's work on Antiquities (fourth century A.D.), when Hwang Ti fought with the rebel Ch'ih-yu (2700 B.C.), a great mist came on, and the army lost its way. The Emperor made a south-pointing chariot to indicate the four points (of the compass). Some say that it was the Duke of Chou (1100 B.C.), who invented the south-pointing chariot. It is also said that the secret of its construction was lost during the anarchy which signalized the close of the Han Dynasty, but was recovered by Ma Kün (third century A.D.). The existing south-pointing chariot is after the notions of the Mr. Ma in question."

"The word 'violet' applied to the *Ki-li Ku-ch'ê* comes from a local word of that meaning used by the Wu (Shanghai-Ningpo region) men."]

From the same, Chapter 52, page 15.

"The Sung founder obtained at Ch'ang-an a south-pointer fashioned by Yao Hing."

In the 59th chapter of the "South Ts'i History," pp. 2, 3,

it is stated by the Emperor (the Tartars having applied to him) that the secret of making south-pointing chariots had long been lost, and there were no competent artisans left.

*Kin (i.e., Nüchen Tartar) History (Period 1113-1234),
Chapter 43, page 1.*

In the eleventh year of the reign-period Ta-ting (A.D. 1171), when there were religious ceremonies going on in the south suburb, the Sacrificial Department hunted up the forms followed by the Southern Sung (i.e., Polo's "Manzi") Dynasty. (Amongst other carts necessary for the cortège were the south-pointing and record-mile drum-carts.)

From the (Later) Sung History, Chapter 149, pages 15, 16.

(After giving the oft-repeated early history of the south-pointing cart, its disappearance, the scepticism upon the subject, its finding at Ch'ang-an by the Early Sung founder, and its attempted reconstruction by the Toba Tartars, etc.): "During the Yüan-ho reign-period (806-820) of the T'ang Dynasty, models of both the south-pointer and the mile-recording drum were submitted to the Emperor, and they were inspected for future proposed use as part of the cortège; but during the Five (Petty) Dynasty period (900-960) nothing more was heard of them, and so on until our present dynasty came to the throne." (Here follows a detailed description of the cog-wheels, diameters, circumferences, and machinery, showing that in both cases the movement of the vane or the wooden man, whether he ultimately pointed south or simply recorded distances, was always started by the machine.) "In the first year of the reign-period Ta-kwan (A.D. 1107), a certain palace officer named Wu Têh-jên submitted specimens of both the south-pointing chariot and recording-mile drum-chariot." (Here follow minute measurements.)

[N.B.—In the old T'ang History (period 618-907),

chapter 45, page 3, the south-pointing and recording-mile drum-carts are mentioned together amongst the chariots of the second class forming part of the Imperial *cortège*.]

From the Later Sung History (Period 960-1279),

Chapter 149, pages 17-20.

The *Ki-li Ku-ch'ê* (Recording-miles Drum-chariot), otherwise the *Ta Chang-ch'ê* (Great Decorative-chariot), was of reddish body, and on each of its four faces were paintings of gay-plumaged birds; it had a double platform with a carved tile-like roofing. As it rolled along one *li* ($=\frac{1}{3}$ English mile), the wooden man on the upper tier struck a drum; for each ten *li*, the second tier wooden man struck a cymbal. It had a single shaft with a phoenix's head, and there were four horses harnessed to it. It used to carry eighteen soldiers, but in the fourth year of Divus Magnus' reign-period Yung-hi (A.D. 987), this number was increased to thirty men. In the fifth year of Divus Benevolens' reign-period T'ien-shêng (A.D. 1027), the courtier Lu Tao-lung submitted a form of the *Ki-li Ku-ch'ê* as fashioned by him. It had a single shaft, two wheels, and the box (or bin) above was in two tiers, each of which had a man, carved out of wood, holding a wooden hammer. Each of the ambulatory wheels was 6 feet in diameter, or 18 feet in circumference, and each turn of the ambulatory wheels covered three paces of ground; one *li*, according to the ancient computation of 6 feet to the pace, consisting of 300 paces; or, if we take the present computation of 5 feet to the pace, then 360 paces were one *li*. There was a standing wheel, attached to the left-hand ambulatory, with a diameter of 1.38 feet, or a circumference of 4.14 feet. It had eighteen teeth (cogs), each distant from the other 2.3 inches (*i.e.*, .23 of a foot); and below this was a horizontal wheel of 4.14 feet diameter, or 12.42 feet circumference, provided with fifty-two teeth at distances from each other the same as in the case of the perpendicular one. A perpendicular axle was fitted into this

(horizontal one), and on the top there was a copper whirlwind wheel with three cogs at distances of 1'2 inches ($\cdot 12$ of a foot). In the centre was fitted a horizontal wheel of 4 feet diameter, or 12 feet circumference, provided with 100 cogs at distances from each other, the same as in the case of the whirlwind wheel. Next there was placed a smaller horizontal wheel, 3 inches and a lesser $\frac{1}{2}$ inch (*i.e.*, $\frac{1}{3}$) in diameter, or 1 foot in circumference, provided with ten cogs at distances of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; then an upper horizontal wheel of 3 feet and a lesser $\frac{1}{2}$ foot ($=\frac{1}{3}$) in diameter, or 10 feet in circumference, provided with 100 cogs at distances the same as in the case of the smaller horizontal wheel. When the central horizontal wheel made one revolution, the cart travelled one $\frac{1}{2}$, and the lower-tier wooden man struck the drum. When the upper horizontal wheel completed one revolution, the cart had travelled ten $\frac{1}{2}$, and the upper tier wooden man struck the cymbal. In all eight wheels were used, containing 285 cogs, all catching or locking into each other alternately in dogs'-teeth style, and thus making circle after circle afresh. An Imperial mandate ordered that the invention should be sent down to the executive officials for manufacture.

The plan adopted in Ta-kwan (reign-period 1107-1110) was to divide the cart-bin into upper and lower tiers, and to place the two wooden men on the top, each holding a wooden hammer. There were four wheels and axles (or, query, four wheel-axle-heads), within which, on the left wall, over the cart's foot, was fitted a wheel, placed within the cart-bin, 2'25 feet in diameter and 6'75 feet in circumference, having twenty cogs at distances of 3'35 inches (*i.e.*, $\cdot 335$ of a foot). Then there was a horizontal wheel of 4'65 feet diameter or 13'95 feet circumference, with sixty cogs 2'4 inches (*i.e.*, $\cdot 24$ of a foot) apart. Above this was a horizontal wheel with concentric axle pointing upwards, and having a diameter of 3'8 feet or a circumference of 11 feet (query, plus 4 inches). It had 100 cogs 1'2 inches (*i.e.*, $\cdot 12$ of a foot) apart, and there was fitted to it a per-

pendicular axle of 2·2 inches ($\frac{22}{100}$ of a foot) in diameter. or 6·6 inches ($\frac{66}{100}$ of a foot) in circumference, provided with three cogs, each 2·2 inches from the other. Outside was a horizontal wheel, on the axle of which were two iron knobs; then a horizontal wooden axle, in which fell a bolt and a knob respectively. As the cart-foot revolved 100 times the communicating wheels and axles turned round completely, and each of the wooden men struck a small gong or a drum.

[N.B.—Some misprints seem to have occurred in the last paragraph; at all events, I am uncertain of the exact meaning in several passages of it.]

Very likely, as research goes on, further allusions to the "taxi-cab" may still be found in Chinese history, but the above are all that are available at present, and from these it is sufficiently plain that mechanical carts, capable of registering distances travelled, by counting and recording the revolutions of very large cart-wheels, connected by cogs with other concentric or eccentric horizontal and perpendicular wheels of proportionate diameters, have been well known to the Chinese for 1,700 or 1,800 years. The men mentioned at various dates as rediscoverers of these lost carts are nearly all well-known astronomers, mathematicians, or mechanics; and more Tartar, Turkish, Tibetan, and Mongoloid Emperors seem to have concerned themselves with these devices than Chinese Emperors. Possibly the reason is simply that, to this day, carts of all kinds are confined to the northern and Tartar-affected parts of China; but probably the reason is also, partly, that enormous numbers of carts were required even so early as 150 B.C. to convey troops across the deserts; and the Chinese have always been most minute in recording exact distances travelled. Possibly some at least of the mechanical ideas were brought from the West by Tartar agencies, as was the case with true gunpowder, in the thirteenth century, A.D.

THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT.

WORK OF THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE DURING THE YEAR 1908

By A. G. WISE,
Secretary of the League.

FOUNDED in the year 1907 with a view to promote British trade, and to voice, and endeavour to rectify, legitimate grievances of British subjects overseas, the following matters have engaged the attention of the League during the year 1908 :

MOROCCO.

The objects of the League with respect to Morocco are as follows :

(1) To further British interests. (2) To assist British subjects resident in Morocco, both individually and collectively, as necessity arises. (3) To watch closely and attentively events in any way related to the question of the "Open Door" in Morocco ; and to use every legitimate means for the maintenance of equal trading rights for all nations in the fullest degree, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Act of Algeciras.

The recent agreement between Germany and France will, it is believed, tend to promote the general interests of all nations concerned with Morocco, as Germany will doubtless be able effectively to secure the maintenance of the "Open Door," which is so essential to the increase of British trade with the Shereefian Empire.

The local Commission, the appointment of which was largely due to the representations of the Overseas League, ended its labours early last year. The International Commission sat from June to August, and is expected to meet again in April.

The League has been successful in obtaining the establishment of penny postage to and from Morocco, thus removing the serious disadvantage under which British merchants laboured in comparison with French, German, and Spanish traders.

Further, after numerous applications, the Postmaster-General, on February 10, 1909, informed the League that cash-on-delivery packets for delivery at the British Postal Agencies at Casablanca, Mazagan, and Mogador would in future be accepted at Post Offices in the United Kingdom. Both these important concessions are directly attributable to the efforts of this League.

At a meeting of the Committee of the League held on October 26, 1908, presided over by Sir Robert Hay-Drummond Hay, the following resolutions were passed :

"1. The Overseas League expresses its agreement with the resolutions which were voted in the year 1907 by the International Peace and Arbitration League at the Congress of Munich in these terms :

"The Congress, considering that the obligation undertaken by one or more civilized States to police a less civilized country may on occasion degenerate into a war of conquest against the country, or even into an armed conflict amongst the civilized States interested in the maintenance of order therein,

"2. Expresses the opinion that operations undertaken in Morocco by France, or Spain, should be strictly limited to the re-establishment of order and assurance of the safety of foreigners.

"3. That the police force in Morocco, even if it should still be entrusted to a limited number of Powers, should preserve (as in Macedonia and Crete) an entirely international character by virtue of an exact agreement to that effect between the interested Powers in completion of the Act of Algenciras."

"The League approves these resolutions, and it also endorses the resolutions adopted on different occasions by former Congresses of the International Peace and Arbitration League in regard to the imprescriptible rights of minor populations."

Copies of the resolutions were sent to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and were duly acknowledged.

Memorials from the British communities at Mogador and Mazagan to H.B.M. Minister at Tangier were received by the League in May, 1908, and circulated amongst the principal English newspapers, the text being printed in full in this Review.* The memorialists claimed the rights to which they are entitled by treaty, and asked for protection in the future as in the past, as withdrawal of such protection would seriously jeopardize their lives and property. No satisfactory explanation as to the reasons which led to the issue of the circular complained of by the petitioners has yet been forthcoming.

In other respects also the true aspect of the Moroccan problem has been kept to the fore by notices in the English, German, Spanish, and French press.

The League, since its inception, having thus in many ways rendered considerable service to the Moorish nation, as well as to British interests in Morocco, it is earnestly hoped that all merchants and others connected with, or feeling sympathy towards that country will show their appreciation of its efforts by joining and supporting this organization, since it is only by their unanimous co-operation that the Morocco Committee can hope to influence His Majesty's Government and the press and public of Great Britain.

TURKEY.

British High School for Boys at Constantinople.

Mr. A. T. Waugh, H.B.M. Consul at Constantinople having directed attention to the need for financial support for the British High School for Boys at Constantinople, a resolution was passed by the League urging that an annual grant for the purpose be made from the Treasury. It is most satisfactory to record that a yearly grant of £300 has been made towards the upkeep of this school. Letters of thanks have been received from the North of

* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1908, pp. 154-162.

England Branch of the British Chamber of Commerce of Turkey, and from the Committee of the school, for the co-operation of the League. This school was started in 1905, and a sound commercial education is provided. The political value of the new precedent thus established is very great, and its effect on our future relations with Turkey will probably be far-reaching. As pointed out by Sir Adam Block, it is of importance to British trade that the British colony in Turkey should be strengthened by being "better fitted by linguistic and commercial qualifications to compete with their vigorous and better-trained rivals." There are a few vacancies for boys of British origin, and the Secretary of the League will be glad to supply full particulars of this most useful institution.

Political Relations with Turkey.

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the Committee held on March 10, 1909 :

"The League congratulates the Turkish Empire on the attainment of their present loyal and constitutional Government, and views with satisfaction the cordial relations existing between Great Britain and Turkey."

A copy of the foregoing resolution was sent to the Turkish Ambassador in London, and was forwarded by His Excellency to his Government.

INDIA.

The Salt-Tax.

At the instance of a well-known Indian Civil Servant, who has devoted considerable labour to effecting reductions in a tax which presses hardly on the people of India, the following resolution was passed by the Council of the League, and forwarded to Lord Morley :

"That in the opinion of the Overseas League the monopoly of salt by the Government of India is contrary to the best interests of that country, and should, therefore, be abolished as soon as the finances of India can

bear the loss. Further, it is suggested that a slight increase might be made in the duty on spirits, especially imported spirits, in order to cover a portion of the loss entailed by the abolition of the salt monopoly."

Education on Plantations.

The League approached Lord Morley respecting the inadequate nature of the facilities existing for the education of the 70,000 children of a school-going age employed on the tea gardens of Assam. Of these, 3,500 have so far acquired elementary knowledge. A scheme has now been formulated by Captain Kennedy for the instruction of young labourers in tea gardens. As in the case of Ceylon, the education given will be of the simplest character, sufficient only to impart knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The instruction will be solely in the vernacular, education in English having never been suggested by those who, like the writer, have for some years past publicly advocated provision of a simple vernacular education for the children employed on tea plantations in India and Ceylon.

The Case of C. Krishna Rau.

The Committee regrets that satisfaction has not yet been accorded in the case of C. Krishna Rau, whose distinguished son, lately made a Judge, brought the forfeiture of his father's pension to the notice of the League, which has so far vainly endeavoured to obtain redress for this long-standing grievance of a loyal British subject.

CEYLON.

The attention of the Colonial Secretary has been drawn to the fact that a boy of twelve years of age was lately sentenced to death, and at the instance of the League, Lord Crewe has made representations to the Governor on the subject. It may be hoped that the law will shortly be amended, so as to avoid the needless cruelty of passing a sentence which modern humanitarian ideas would never sanction being carried into execution. In this connection

it may be of interest to mention that during 1907 there were fifty-nine death sentences and forty-four executions in Ceylon, being twenty-four times as many people hanged in Ceylon in proportion to the population as in England. Those who have closely studied the subject are of opinion that it would be advisable to sanction the transportation of persons guilty of murder, or serious crime, such punishment being more likely to have a deterrent effect on the Sinhalese inhabitants of this colony, which holds an unenviable record for the prevalence of murder and serious crimes.

CANADA.

With respect to the embargo on Canadian cattle which was referred to in strong terms of protest by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the last Imperial Conference, the following resolution was passed by the Committee :

"That in the opinion of the Overseas League the removal of the present embargo on Canadian cattle is desirable, inasmuch as the healthy condition of such cattle is fully recognized, and the present system of compulsory slaughter of the animals at the ports of disembarkation in Great Britain is deeply resented by a large section of the community in Canada."

Copies of the foregoing resolution have been forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Colonial Secretary, and the President of the Board of Agriculture.

ST. HELENA.

The farmers of St. Helena having gone to great expense in connection with the improvement of their live stock, in compliance with the request made some years ago by the Imperial Authorities, it was felt that, the cattle being not locally required in consequence of the removal of the garrison, it has become imperative on H.M. Government to make a grant for the purchase of these cattle. Accordingly the following resolutions were passed by the League and forwarded to the Colonial Secretary :

1. That in the opinion of the Overseas League it is desirable that an adequate grant be made for the upkeep of the roads in St. Helena with

a view to the successful continuance of the flax industry. . . . 2. That, owing to the fact that cattle are seriously interfering with the said flax industry, it is earnestly hoped that, in view of the removal of the tax on imported cattle at the Cape Colony, His Majesty's Government may think fit to approach the Admiralty for the purpose of purchasing such cattle as may be needed for naval requirements at the Cape Station."

A further resolution on the subject, proposed by Mr. Melliss, was passed by the Committee at their last meeting.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The League approached the Dean of Westminster Abbey, asking that he would open the Abbey to visitors from Overseas on Sundays at times other than those set apart for public worship, but the Dean refused to comply with this reasonable request on the ground that it would entail too much extra work for the vergers.

Amongst minor, but important, matters dealt with by the League has been the helping of British subjects living in foreign countries. Thus, in the case of a poor Englishman who had been robbed of all his savings in Germany, the League was able to obtain entire restitution of his property.

In Nicaragua, the services of the League have been sought in obtaining payment of a claim for property wrongfully confiscated by the Nicaraguan Government some two years ago. In this case also it is satisfactory to record that the British subject in question writes that he anticipates that a settlement of his claim will now very shortly be made, thanks to the intervention of the Overseas League.

The League is considering the advisability of approaching the Government with a view to obtain a subsidy for a School of Oriental Languages similar to the excellent institutions existing for that purpose in Berlin and Paris. In this connection Sir R. Hay-Drummond Hay, C.M.G., writes: "We have nothing in England coming anywhere near the Berlin institution. It is time for us to imitate the example of the Germans, considering that we are a great Colonial nation, and much more in need of instruction in Oriental languages than the Germans."

The formation of a special Indian Committee of the League is under consideration.

The League has sustained a great loss through the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, the late Colonel Sir C. E. Howard Vincent, M.P., K.C.M.G., C.B.

Mr. J. H. Galbraith, Solicitor to the Australian Commonwealth, has kindly consented to act as Hon. Solicitor to the League.

A Library has been formed of books relating to the Colonies and trade generally, for which donations of suitable publications are invited. An Information Bureau has been established, and inquiries are invited respecting social and political movements in the Colonies and abroad.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held on Wednesday, January 27, 1909, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., a paper by F. J. E. Spring, Esq., C.I.E., was read by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., on "Indian Industrial Development," Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I., presiding. The following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir L. Probyn, K.C.V.O., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. R. K. Puckle, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. K. Chowdry, Mr. M. K. Ray, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. J. G. Davis, Mr. G. Garfield Hancock, Mr. W. Ashley Gregory, Mrs. H. Grigg, Mrs. Stirling, Mr. Alex. Abbott, Mr. R. H. Wesmont, Mr. G. Godfrey, Colonel F. Kilgour, Mr. N. Ghatak, Miss Warren, Mr. Priestly, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. George H. Tattersfield, F.R.G.S., Mr. K. Bhattacharya, Mr. A. Bhatta, Miss E. J. Beck, Mr. A. Cooper, Mr. S. Cooper, Miss C. Massey, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the writer of the paper, the paper was read by Sir Arundel T. Arundel.

LORD LAMINGTON, speaking as a former Governor of Bombay, said he agreed with the views of Mr. Spring. He thought it was recognized that scientific education was more adequate in Bombay than in any other part of India, not only in regard to mere education, but as shown also in the industries which education helped to maintain. Those who had been in Bombay knew that the industries differed from those in any other part of India by the fact that the mills were owned and very often conducted by Indian gentlemen who had themselves arrived at that stage of industrial scientific knowledge which Mr. Spring wished to see become more general. There had been one great error on the part of the Government of India hitherto in promoting higher education—namely, that they encouraged a great number of young men to take up literary degrees, with the result that when they went out into the world, having finished their University career, they did not know to what purposes to put the knowledge they had acquired, as their characters had not been framed with the object of engaging in industrial commercial enterprise. He thought that if the cost of the education of the student was more proportionate to the amount expended on it by the Government, the student would value more highly the training he received and the knowledge he acquired. That would strengthen his character, and he would have a definite object in view to which he would ultimately put the knowledge and training which he had received, and for which he had paid. He did not mean to say that the

training should be self-supported by the fees received, but that the cost to the students should be so far enhanced as to represent more nearly the cost of the education given. Of course it might be argued that there were a number of poor students who could not then afford to go in for higher education, but he would point out that, owing to private benefactions, there were a number of scholarships. Indians were most forward in giving scholarships, and thus there was always the opportunity given to the poor student whom it was desirable to assist by means of these scholarships, and therefore it could not be said that he would have no chance of becoming acquainted with science or with industrial knowledge. In conclusion, he thought the paper was very valuable as coming from a gentleman who was not merely uttering theories, but who had also, by his own life of hard work, constant practice and close observation of an intimate character, been enabled to summarize his experience in a very valuable form. (Applause.)

MR. S. S. THORBURN thought that two propositions in Mr. Spring's paper stood out as all-important, the first being that the time had come for the Government of India to give up continuing to push a purely literary education, and the second being that, in substitution therefor, the Government should teach practical industrialism. With regard to the first, the education to which Mr. Spring referred was, more or less, the "humanities," the kind of teaching which was given at Oxford; even there sometimes it resulted in swelled heads and empty stomachs. In India it had produced a plague of lawyers and, lately, politicians. With regard to the second proposition, everybody agreed that it was necessary for India, with a view to her prosperity, that her peoples should have a variety of occupations. At present India had only one industry, one occupation—viz., agriculture. They knew that all purely agricultural countries were poor, and that India, because of the density of her population and the frequent recurrence of rain failures was poorer than any other agricultural country. For those reasons industrialism was a necessity for India. The question was how that object was to be attained. He thought that Mr. Spring had made one considerable omission in his paper. Before stating it he (Mr. Thorburn) wished to criticize a remark made by Mr. Spring. After explaining that in the old days the mass of business was carried on by British officers and Indian officials in the vernacular, Mr. Spring proceeded to say, "I am far from insisting that this was a bad state of things, but whether good or bad *it had to go, and it has gone.*" In point of fact, it neither had to go, had gone, or could ever go, because, outside the Presidency cities and the provincial capitals, not more than 1 per cent. of the population of India would ever be able to converse and transact business except in their own vernacular, therefore the mass of the affairs of the country must continue to be conducted in the local vernacular of each part. No executive officer could ever be effective in India unless he could speak the language of the people. Mr. Thorburn admitted that owing to increase in office work and other causes, there was now a growing want of touch between English officials and Indian people. The fact was deplorable, because it gave the enemies

of British rule a leverage whereon to work. Another passage in the paper he wished to criticize was where Mr. Spring said, "In my belief the approximate cause of India's present failure to adopt industrialism on a scale anything like adequate to alleviate the poverty of her population is that *her upper classes stand coldly apart from all interest in such development.*" He would remind them that twenty or thirty years ago the community in this country consisted of nobility and gentry on one side, and traders and working people on the other; since then the change was immense. Then we worshipped the strawberry leaf; now we worship the golden calf. (Laughter.) They had only to go along New Bond Street to see a shop which was kept by a countess. The same thing occurred in the City, where they found Members of Parliament and lords jostling each other in order to become "guinea-pigs." He contended that if the upper classes in India saw there was money in industrial enterprise, they would put their money into it. He disagreed with Mr. Spring as to the cause why India had not succeeded in starting manufactures and making them prosperous. It was not the pride or apathy of the upper classes so much as our own sins of commission and omission. The *causa causans* of the whole business was the selfish action of Great Britain and her representatives in Parliament. India had hitherto been in fiscal bondage to England. The whole of the economical relations between the two countries had been arranged to enable England to retain India for her market, her dumping-ground for her manufactures. As an illustration he might remind them of the fight over the Cotton Duties. After the Afghan War India was nearly bankrupt, and the rupee having gone down to one-third, the Government of India proposed a 5 per cent. import duty all round on finished products. Lancashire, and constituencies with industries dependent on cotton, returned sixty-three Members of Parliament, who immediately pulled the wires in Parliament with the result that the House passed a hypocritical resolution to the effect that, as India contained 200 million consumers, it was necessary that the consumer should get every article as cheaply as possible, hence the imposition of any duty on Lancashire piece goods would be an injustice to India. After that both officials and Indians combined to denounce the unfairness of such a policy, and the result was that now India put on an import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., not 5 per cent., upon Manchester piece goods, and, so as to maintain the idea of free trade, imposed an excise duty on her own similar products of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. With regard to the point as to the fiscal bondage of India, he thought that industrialism in India would never flourish until India had fiscal freedom. The industrial pre-eminence of the United States was chiefly due to the McKinley tariff. The similar rise of Germany in Europe only began when Bismarck put on protective duties. If India had a free hand she would put reasonable import duties on finished goods she could herself manufacture, and not until then would her industries be successful. (Applause.)

MR. N. GHATAK agreed with the writer of the paper when he said that technical education was needed more and more in India, but he thought that the great curse of India had been the dependence of the people on

the Government to do everything. With regard to the fiscal problem, they could not do anything until they had the proper supply. If they had the proper supply, then they could build up a protective wall, but they could not do it until they were able to supply their own goods themselves. He would like to impress upon the mind of every capitalist that they must have more mutual confidence. At the present time one man thought the other was going to rob him, and it was impossible to carry on business on those lines. They must join hands and say: "Here is our money; let us carry on business." With regard to the commercial morality that the writer of the paper had referred to, he was sorry to say that, among his countrymen, there was a good deal of commercial immorality. If one went into a shop to buy a pair of boots, the shop-keeper would ask Rs. 15 for them, and he would eventually sell them for Rs. 5. He thought the Indian Engineering Service ought to take more students from the National Technical Colleges, because, in that way, the Government would encourage industrial students. In conclusion he thanked the lecturer, on behalf of Indians, for the paper, which he was sure would do a great deal of good. (Applause.)

DR. J. POLLEN (the Hon. Secretary) then read the following speech, which had been written by MR. ALEXANDER ROGERS:

"I was myself in Gujerat on private business, not for the first time, in the Famine years of 1899 and 1900, and witnessed the miserable conditions to which the agricultural classes, and especially members of the Bhud and other cultivators of the backward tribes, were reduced in consequence of the cessation of all agricultural labour. Having, at that time, discovered the cocoons of the Tusser silkworm on trees in the jungle, I brought the matter to the notice of the Royal Society of Arts, and, through the Secretary of State, to the Government of Bombay, as a means for the mitigation of the famine, and I know that Lord Morley wrote some official letters on the subject to the present Governor of Bombay. Since then I have been in frequent communication with the India Office, and recommended the employment of the three Revenue and Political Commissioners, men of many years' standing in the Civil Service and of large experience (who travel every fair season through the country to supervise the administration), to report on the subject of agriculture as of great importance to the people and the Government, at the same time fostering the industry by procuring from Gujerat consignments of the cocoons of this variety of silkworm, and introducing the culture of the Assamese species, and having some of them worked up at Bradford into yarn, specimens of which I have here to exhibit to the meeting. Similar specimens have also been sent to the Bombay Government through the Secretary of State. Being aware that the Government of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, the villages of which are intimately intermixed with our own, had been engaged for some years on a similar enterprise, I have procured from Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt (one of His Highness's late Ministers) the Administration Report for 1906 and 1907 (the last issued), and I find that at a centre not far from Surat there had in that year been reared no less than six crops of silk, with one at a model farm at Baroda. Notwithstanding

all this the meeting will probably be astonished to hear that, in answer to a question put a short time ago by me to the Secretary of State, the reply was given that inquiries had been made and that the matter was not, for the present, of sufficient importance for the Government to take any further steps in the matter. The meeting can form their own opinion. By the exertions of the late lamented Sir Thomas Wardle a large and flourishing silk trade has lately been introduced into Kashmir. I have done what I could by writing officially and privately and by advancing money out of my own pocket wherewith to pay for the collection of cocoons, and to induce people in Gujerat to take up the breeding of silkworms as a domestic industry in the hope of starting a similar industry, and now I look to the East India Association and the Press to force the importance of the matter on the Bombay Government so that no further delay may be allowed, considering that the great want of India at present, in order to put a stop to the unrest brought about by a few half-educated individuals in Bengal and elsewhere, is industrial employment, which is advocated in the paper which has just been read by the lecturer." (Applause.)

MR. K. CHOWDRY (of Bengal) thought that Dr. Spring had very fairly criticized the Government for neglecting industrial education. The fault lay as much with the people as with the Government. No industrial progress was possible as long as the educated classes were indifferent to manual labour. It was shameful that the low-class working man was still looked upon with contempt. He believed there would be a great improvement in industrial training if the Government took as many men from the engineering graduates as from the literary graduates, who now had the preference. It was unfortunate that the Zemindars of Bengal, who had amassed untold wealth, were indifferent to industrial development. There were enough people in Bengal to develop its resources, but its capital was locked up. (Applause.) He thought that British capital invested in India was a boon to the nation. It not only helps to employ thousands, but its successful investment in mills and factories encourages the Indian capitalists to start similar undertakings of their own. He regretted that the Indian educational department is poorly equipped, and would like to see employment of experts in technical education like Dr. Nicholson of Manchester and Professor Silvanus Thompson of London to direct practical instruction in place of second and third-class Oxford and Cambridge men without any experience of teaching.

MR. B. BHATTACHARYA thought that Indians should be left to work out their own salvation. He thought the Government of India ought to rectify their past blunders and retrieve their good name. (Applause.)

MR. M. K. RAY pointed out, with regard to the question of commercial morality, that Indian merchants were getting to understand the fallacy of charging 10s. when they would be satisfied with 2s. or 3s., and they were now fixing one price in their own interests, and thought that the remarks of Mr. Ghatak *re* the morality of Indian merchants were quite unjustified.

MR. R. F. CHISHOLM said it was very difficult to get hold of the right people able to teach technicalities. All agreed that technical education was the right thing for India. He had once suggested to the Gaekwar of

Baroda that the best way of imparting technical education in India was to have genuine workmen from England every year during the English slack season : for the first year to get out a practical painter, and the next year to get out a gilder, and so on. They commenced by procuring a gilder from England who stopped in Baroda for six months, with the excellent result that the native gilders there were able to gild as they never gilded before ; but the final result was that they went to other parts of India as experts, and now, if anyone wanted gilding done in Baroda, the old difficulty existed.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL, in reply to the criticisms on the paper, said he was entirely in agreement with what Mr. Thorburn had said with regard to the question of a knowledge of the vernaculars, but he thought Mr. Thorburn was under a misapprehension in supposing that Mr. Spring meant anything else than the way in which English had now taken the place of the vernacular in correspondence. With regard to what Mr. Thorburn said as to India being in fiscal bondage, he had nothing to say in defence of the Excise duty that was levied upon Indian cotton manufacturers, but it was incorrect to say that India was in complete bondage in other respects. He had been a member of the Viceroy's Council for five years, and had been connected with five budgets, and there was no sign of fiscal bondage as far as his experience was concerned. He was glad to hear what Mr. Chowdry had said about the use of foreign capital. He also agreed with Mr. Chowdry that there was a tendency in India to select literary scholars for the scientific scholarships. With regard to what Mr. Chisholm had said as to Barod getting no benefit from the introduction of a gilder from England, he wished to point out that India had benefited, and that the Guikwar's experiment showed how useful similar importations would be on a larger scale.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my duty to close the proceedings, but I will detain you a few moments. I will use my right to speak, not for the purpose of complimenting anyone who has spoken, still less for the purpose of contradicting anyone, or debating any question on which there may be difference of opinion. I wish to state my own conclusion, not hastily formed, in regard to education in India. I do not propose to deal with the fiscal question, or with the political question which has been touched upon by one of the gentlemen from India. If you want to do any good to the people of India, you have to concentrate your attention upon the problem of education. We are told we have made many mistakes ; if we have, that seems to prove that we are human beings, and not, as we are sometimes told, bureaucratic machines. I wish especially to point out that higher education may become more practical and industrial without becoming less literary. The members of the Indian community have always had a genius for literary pursuits, and I should be sorry to see literature declining ; but we must put less trust in systems, and an effort must be made to give more adaptability to our educational machinery, so that we can meet the needs of the individual scholar. It is not an easy problem to work out, and it may be an expensive reform in the long run. We may in time be able to devise some form of apprenticeship which will

complete the scheme of education by fitting the student for the work, whatever it is, that he means to make his living by. In teaching founded only on books you can take large classes without considering what their future careers are going to be. The moment you begin to speak of apprenticeship one must be differentiated from another, and different training must be provided for them. I believe that is possible, and I believe that, on the industrial side, there is a good deal of what you may call general industrial education which might be given to scholars with the greatest advantage. The best technical school I have ever seen was at Philadelphia in the United States. I found there 1,200 boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen. They divided their time between the classroom and the workshop. No trade was taught in that building, but every boy was taught to work in wood and metal, and to use the ordinary tools and appliances for measuring, weighing, and testing the strength of materials. They all had that general knowledge imparted to them, and then they went out, not into one, but into fifty different industries in the United States. When I asked the Principal: "Have you any difficulty in finding employment for your boys?" he said, "I have a book that is kept here, in which employers write down their applications for so many boys, and I always have about double as many applications as there are boys to send out." That, to my mind, is the sort of industrial school which ought to be provided for India. Again, when we come to the University, I hope we shall always remember that our business is not to turn out bachelors of engineering, but to turn out men who have been taught to use their brains and hands, and have also learnt, by serving under some man who knows his business, what is necessary in all practical work, but especially in Oriental industries, the art of managing men. That can only be done by apprenticeship. It can never be taught in class-rooms and colleges. The boys should learn to realize quite distinctly what their work in life is going to be, so that, whether they are reading a book or taking some kind of practical work, they ought always to be thinking whether it makes them better for the work which they are going to do afterwards. I believe that is not at all inconsistent with the spirit of good general education. You may be learning science, but one branch of science will interest you more than another, according to the object with which you are learning it. Do not let us underrate the difficulties. There is the difficulty which Mr. Spring has pointed out of the hereditary ideas and beliefs of large sections of the Indian people. We must also be on our guard against undue dependence on Government. The problem we are now considering will not be entirely solved by the Government. There is a great deal the Government cannot do. That brings me to the second difficulty, that there is not only some hereditary prejudice to overcome, but there is the great difficulty of the supply of money and men. When you have made up your mind that a certain thing is very desirable, the next step is to ask: What will it cost, and who is going to pay for it? When the gentlemen from India, who have addressed us this evening, set themselves, on their return to their country, to advance the condition of their fellow-countrymen, I hope that question will not slip out of their minds. We are told that India is a poor

country ; but India is a country where many men are making large incomes in trades and professions. India is also a country in which the advantages we have secured have enabled many men to turn to intellectual and practical pursuits, who might have been trodden down if we had not established the *pax Britannica*. Those, therefore, who acquire knowledge, and those who acquire property in India, should realize that they hold all that in trust for their own countrymen. If *that* lesson is taught in the schools and Universities of India, I believe even the difficulties of which we have heard so much will be found not to be unsurmountable. (Loud applause.)

On the motion of SIR CHARLES STEVENS, carried by acclamation, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman for presiding.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting for the vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the above Association was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, Westminster, S.W., on Tuesday, March 2, 1909, when a paper was read by A. E. Duchesne, Esq., of Calcutta, on "Race, Creed, and Politics in India." Sir Charles Cecil Stevens, K.C.S.I., was in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir James Buckingham, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Colonel E. R. J. Presgrave, D.S.O., C.B., Mr. Krishna Gobinda Gupta, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. R. A. L. Moore, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mrs. Duchesne, Miss Smith, Mrs. Wright, Mrs. Rideout, Mrs. J. Loch, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mrs. Hunter, Mr. Owen Monk, Miss Beck, Miss Annie A. Smith, Mr. Cousins, Mr. A. H. Campbell, Mr. B. L. Rice, Miss Massey, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. H. F. Turner, Miss McLaren, Mr. A. Ehhatherey, Mr. A. J. Robertson, Mr. H. Palmer, Mr. Edward Palmer, Mr. R. G. Orr, Mr. G. L. Maheshwary, Mr. Stuart R. Cope, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the lecturer, the paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentleman, I propose that we offer our best thanks to Mr. Duchesne for the very interesting and suggestive address that he has given us. Before I go further, however, I may say that it was originally hoped that Sir Andrew Fraser, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, would have presided on this occasion. I regret, for your sakes and for my own, that this arrangement was not found to be practicable. We should all of us have liked to welcome Sir Andrew Fraser home, and to congratulate him upon his escape from the numerous attempts which have been made upon his life. (Hear, hear.) And we should also have been glad to hear the impressions of one who is so much nearer to the country than I can possibly be, after more than ten years' absence.

The lecturer's opening remarks about politics have taken me back to the year 1894, when the question of the cotton duties was under discussion in the Viceroy's Council. That was a subject which caused a great deal of excitement in India. Public meetings were held, and there was very strong feeling on the subject. I remember that, among those who were conspicuous for their plain speaking was one of the leading Bengali barristers of Calcutta, and he used some strong language with regard to the Government, although at the time avowing that he was a Liberal in politics, and that while in England he had done his best to support the Liberal views. In the course of a short speech which I had the honour of making on that occasion, I used these words: "Among us in India, my Lord, party politics are practically forgotten. Within the

walls of this council chamber European politics have no place. I venture, therefore, without hesitation, to say that there is no one here who can fail to be powerfully moved when he hears criticisms such as this passed upon any British administration, whether Conservative or Liberal, by a native of India educated after our own manner, and competent to judge according to our own moral tests." You will see, therefore, that fifteen years ago I held precisely the views which the lecturer has expounded in so interesting a way to us this afternoon, and I must say that I concur with him in deprecating the association of India with party politics in England. (Hear, hear.) However well informed party politicians may be in the circumstances of their own country, they may be very ill informed as regards the affairs of India. (Hear, hear.) We, who have spent thirty or more years in one part of India, hesitate to express ourselves with any certainty, or sometimes even to guess, regarding the condition of other Presidencies; but this is seldom the case with party politicians, who betake themselves to the partial study of India. One finds much greater certainty among them regarding the whole of India than one would permit oneself regarding even the limited part of which one has had so many years' experience. (Applause and laughter.) I venture to think that the interposition of such politicians can be only mischievous in India. It is true that the partial information which they give may be supplemented, and it is true that attempts may be made to correct mistakes—and mistakes will be made, notwithstanding the goodwill, which I am prepared to concede exists—of the people who give the mistaken information. But still, much will remain uncontradicted; and I am bound to say I think the mistakes are so many and so great that it is impossible for contradiction or explanation to overtake them. (Hear, hear.) The lecturer has shown us, roughly and generally, how far apart the population of India is from homogeneity of race, religion, and language. He has given us some figures. A person who has been accustomed for so many years as I have to examine statistics I suppose instinctively flies at such things, and so I am sorry to say that I do not entirely follow the lecturer's statistics here when he says "Hindi (in all shades) spoken by 60 millions," and so forth. Adding up the figures in his table, I find only 220 millions odd out of the 300 millions. Then, looking at the percentages, I find difficulties again there, and I will mention them now, because if, as I hope, this lecture will be reproduced in a permanent form, I think very likely the lecturer will reconsider this point. What I think has happened is that the millions are in British territory, and the percentages have been calculated on the 300 millions inhabiting the whole of India. But the accuracy or inaccuracy of these figures does not affect the general character of the lecturer's argument. Of course we, who have been in India, are familiar with all this; but I hope the lecture will pass into the hands of people who have not been familiar with India. The figures given are sufficiently approximate to show plainly the difficulties in the way of a uniform system of Indian administration—indeed, the absolute impossibility of such a thing.

The one great lesson which, I think, no one who has been in India can fail to learn is that of toleration. When one has been accustomed to see Hindus, Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Christians and all the rest of them living together (and I have seen them all in one place) peaceably and harmoniously, one sees that no one class of people, ourselves especially, is entitled to complain if others differ in social habits, in religion, or even, perhaps, in morals. And we are bound to hear, dispassionately and fairly, the opinions of people who differ very much from ourselves, and an overwhelming reason why we should do that is that it is impossible for us to know all the conditions and all the circumstances connected with the social life of these people of such different races, different religions, and different histories.

I do not propose to detain you long in discussing the details of this paper. It is rather curious that the question of Parasnath Hill in Hazaribagh, which the lecturer has mentioned, is one which I have had officially to deal with. The peak is the highest point in the Commissionership of Chutia Nagpur in Bengal. So far as I can make out, this great difficulty has grown up very much of late years. I visited the hill myself, and I found there the remains of barracks which had been built very many years ago, and occupied as a sanatorium for soldiers. They were abandoned, not on account of any difficulty with the Jains, but because the British soldier had no occupation. There was no level ground. He could not play cricket or any of the other games that require level ground, and it is said, with I do not know how much truth, that the dulness caused too many suicides. However, there was a planter who had a tea-garden on the side of the mountain. His tea was sold in packets to the pilgrims, and all went on comfortably; but, unfortunately, this gentleman thought it would be a good place for the establishment of a piggery. This unhappy plan caused an immense sensation at once, and I believe that really it is that which has grown into the difficulties of which the lecturer has told you. I confess I sympathize with the Jains.

In reference to the Beharis, I may say, without going into the details of disputed matters, that there are some people who think that the interests of the Beharis, and perhaps of the Bengalis, would have been better served in the recent partition if the partition had divided off Behar, Bhagalpur and Chutia Nagpur, and thus constituted a separate administration. (Hear, hear.)

The effect of the recent educational arrangements in Eastern Bengal seems to be very astonishing if the Mohammedan pupils have risen, in a single year, by 15 per cent., and even the Hindus by 4 per cent. I think few people, except those who are well acquainted with the conditions of Bengal, are aware that the Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal are, on an average, of a lower class than the Hindus. They contain far fewer of the educated and wealthy people. Sir Henry Cotton, when he was Assistant Magistrate in charge of a Sub-Division, wrote a very able article in the *Calcutta Review* on the then New Road Cess, and I remember that he went into the very question of the relation between the Zemindar and the Ryot, which he said, with much truth, is largely the relation of Rajah and

subject. Unhappily the strong are too often apt to be what we call in India "zabardast." I think that has more to do with the matter than any difficulties between Hindus, as such, and Mohammedans, as such. I must not detain you longer, though there is very much that I could remark upon. The truth is that the lecturer has given us so many texts for our discourse that I anticipate there will be a large number of gentlemen anxious to speak whom you will be anxious to hear. I move a most cordial vote of thanks to our lecturer. (Loud applause.)

MR. L. W. RITCH thought it was dangerous to assume that because people were Orientals they were incapable of assimilating and adapting themselves to institutions which were commonly regarded as peculiarly Western. It should be borne in mind that evolution and growth were as much a fact in the East as in the West, and he submitted that it ought not to be taken for granted, as he sometimes feared it was, that India was inherently incapable of becoming a nation. It seemed to be held by some as a kind of axiom that she could not possibly become a nation, much the same as the hope was more or less secretly entertained in some quarters that certain Oriental countries would not flourish under their recently acquired constitutions, because theoretically they could not. He was glad to observe that there were good grounds for hoping that those Oriental peoples that had evolved the true national spirit would ultimately succeed under representative institutions. The lecturer had used the term hotchpot as descriptive of the population of India, and, as things were, he thought quite appropriately; but it should not be forgotten that the English nation had itself passed through just such a phase in its history. The English nation was not homogeneous, but had been compounded of just such ingredients as go to make a hotchpot. Celt, Latin, Saxon, and Norman had all contributed their quota, and the resultant was not a bad specimen of nationhood. He desired to say a word about South Africa, because he had been more particularly associated with the Indian question in South Africa. There, in marked contrast to the separateness and those disintegrating elements which it must be admitted still characterized the peoples of India, Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees, and others, lived together in terms of mutual friendliness and esteem, sinking their religious and caste differences, knowing each other only as Indians who are bound by common ties, and particularly to resist encroachments upon their self-respect and liberties as British subjects. The Registration Law had done more than anything else to eradicate their differences. Welded together by a common grievance, representatives of these various "peoples" were standing shoulder to shoulder to resist by loss and suffering what to them were uncalled-for indignities, their eyes turned patiently towards the Imperial Government for the help it denies them. Apparently there were more ways than one of making a nation. Injustice and oppression, such as the Indians of the Transvaal were suffering, might produce that result, or it might be brought about by affectionate care and helpfulness, such as he trusted inspired the Government of India. (Hear, hear.)

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

MATRICULATION OF INDIAN STUDENTS AT THE
LONDON UNIVERSITY.

PERSIAN AND URDU.

SOME questions of considerable interest to Indian students who may be coming to England have been under the consideration of the Senate of the London University.

The University has a rule, under Statute 116, that "Persons of nineteen years of age and upwards, who present foreign certificates from an academical or other educational authority, which indicate that they have attained a standard *primâ facie* equal to that of the Matriculation Examination, may apply for examination before the Board of Moderators, instead of at the Matriculation Examination."

In the case of a Lahore student, who, having passed the Entrance Examination in India, recently desired to be matriculated in London, on inquiry being made of the University authorities, it was stated "that a student who has obtained a Matriculation Certificate from a University in a province of British India was not considered by the London University to be in possession of a foreign qualification, and that consequently he would not be admissible under the above rule to the examination before the Board of Moderators." As this appeared to be a serious disqualification for an Indian student who might really possess good attainments, qualifications, and character, the matter was formally submitted to the authorities of the University for favour of a decision. Stress was laid upon the fact that education was progressing in India at a rapid pace, that it was natural that ambitious and clever students should wish to obtain a degree having the imprimatur of the University of the Imperial Metropolis; and it was suggested that a liberal interpretation of the Statutes in favour of Indian students, and sympathetic recognition of scholarship bearing

other than the Occidental stamp, might work in the real interests of culture and scholarship throughout the Empire.

It has just been announced that the Senate has taken up the matter, and has now resolved to consider the eligibility of any candidate possessing such certificates (*i.e.*, "matriculated" certificates from a University in a province of British India) for admission to the examination before the Board of Moderators. The effect of this decision we understand to be this: If the Senate considers a candidate who holds a Matriculation Certificate from a University in a province of British India eligible for examination before the Board of Moderators, and he, having appeared before that Board, satisfies the Board as to his qualifications for admission, he will be declared to be on the footing of a duly matriculated student of the London University.

Another feature which might handicap Indian students desiring to matriculate by examination in the University of London is that Persian and Urdu have not been reckoned among the optional languages which can be professed at matriculation. Latin, French, German, and other languages can be taken, but not Persian or Urdu. The question of the inclusion of these two languages is believed to be still under the consideration of the University authorities. It is obvious that this is a question of great moment to Indian students. It is, however, a difficult question for the University, and involves careful consideration by experts.

Persian may, in reference to its antiquity and its stores of world-famed literature, almost be deemed classical. Its grammar and syntax are very simple, and it is thus characterized by a writer in a standard work of reference: "The language of Persia is pronounced by universal consent to be the richest and most elegant of those spoken in modern Asia. It is the most sonorous and muscular, while at the same time it is the most elegant and most flexible of idioms, and it is not to be wondered at that in Moslem and Hindu realms it should have become the language

of the Court and of the educated world in general, as French used to be in Europe."

Anyone who has been in India knows that Persian is a language through which the East has been profoundly affected. While it has many distinguished poets and prose-writers, the whole world can offer but few parallels in secular literature to the influence exerted by one of its earliest poets, Shekh Sádi Shirázi, whose proverbs and couplets (though he died 700 years ago) are to this day on the lips of the whole educated Moslem world, and whose "Gulistán" (though in certain passages it greatly requires expurgation) is read as a school-book throughout the East from Constantinople to Dacca.

Then, as regards Urdu, it is the *lingua Franca* of India. While its grammar is now fixed, it has not, perhaps, attained its high development as a literary language. It is a language of much vitality, and better known throughout India than any other. It has had, and has, its poets—some held in enthusiastic admiration; also its prose-writers; and it is of vast importance as the vernacular which, apparently, will have most to do with the education and progress of the Indian peoples.

In connection with this question, the University of London will, no doubt, consider the subject in all its bearings, giving weight to the value of the appreciation and practical recognition by all Universities of the works and aims of sister institutions throughout the world. High standards in the final tests must, of course, be adhered to; but where it is possible, without sacrificing them, to open the doors to those who thirst for knowledge who have been trained in other schools and under other systems, it is surely desirable to do so.

If throughout the centuries the Universities and seats of learning have formed some sort of bond between the nations among the learned classes, how desirable it is that such bonds should be still recognized and strengthened, especially between the Universities of the same Empire.

Indian affairs are asserting themselves with growing insistence ; and if Indian scholarship and research have hitherto attracted but moderate attention in Europe (though India has had its scholars honoured by Western Universities) they are sure to increase in attraction in the future.

The relation of the Universities to international and imperial interests should not be overlooked, and in this regard the University of London holds a commanding and unique position. The correlation of East and West on the plane of University learning and research is a matter of more than academical importance, and has, one ventures to think, great and growing potentialities.

If the University of London, with due regard to intellectual and literary standards, can see its way to include Persian and Urdu among the optional subjects of the Matriculation Examination, a great boon will be conferred upon Indian students.

W. COLDSTREAM.

INDIAN COUNCILS BILL. [H.L.]

[AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF LORDS.]

MEMORANDUM.

The object of this Bill is to amend and extend the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, in such a way as to provide—

- (i.) For an enlargement of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General and of the existing Provincial Legislative Councils ;
- (ii.) For the election of a certain proportion of their members by popular vote ; and
- (iii.) For greater freedom to discuss matters of general public interest and to ask questions at their meetings, and more especially for the discussion of the annual financial statements.

The Executive Councils of the Governments of Madras and Bombay are enlarged, and powers are taken to create Executive Councils in the other Provinces of India where they now do not exist. Provision is also made for the appointment of Vice-Presidents of the various Councils.

The details of the necessary arrangements, which must vary widely in the different Provinces, are left to be settled by means of regulations to be framed by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State.

A BILL [AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF LORDS] INTITULED

An Act to amend the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, and the Government of India Act, 1833.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

1.—(1) The additional members of the councils for the purpose of making laws and regulations (hereinafter referred to as Legislative Councils) of the Governor-General and of the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay, and the members of the Legislative Councils already constituted, or which may hereafter be constituted, of the several Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces, instead of being all nominated by the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, in manner provided by the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, shall include members so nominated and also members elected in accordance with regulations made under this Act, and references in those Acts to the members so nominated and their nomination shall be construed as including references to the members so elected and their election.

(2) The number of additional members or members so nominated and elected, the number of such members required to constitute a quorum, the term of office of such members and the manner of filling up casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, or resignation duly accepted, or otherwise, shall, in the case of each such council, be such as may be prescribed by regulations made under this Act :

Provided that the aggregate number of members so nominated and elected shall not, in the case of any Legislative Council mentioned in the first column of the First Schedule to this Act, exceed the number specified in the second column of that schedule.

2.—(1) The number of ordinary members of the councils of the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay shall be such number not exceeding four as the Secretary of State in Council may from time to time direct, of whom two at least shall be persons who at the time of their appointment have been in the service of the Crown in India for at least twelve years.

(2) If at any meeting of either such council there is an equality of votes on any question, the Governor or other person presiding shall have two votes or the casting vote.

3. The Governor-General, the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay respectively, shall appoint a member of their respective councils to be Vice-President thereof, and for the purpose of temporarily holding and executing the office of Governor-General or Governor of Fort Saint George or Bombay, and of presiding at meetings of Council in the absence of the Governor-General, Governor or the Vice-President so appointed shall be deemed to be the senior member of Council and the member highest in rank, and the Indian Councils Act, 1861, and sections sixty-two and sixty-three of the Government of India Act, 1833, shall have effect accordingly.

4.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in the Indian Councils Act, 1861, the Governor-General in Council, the Governors in Council of Fort Saint George and Bombay respectively, and the Lieutenant-Governor or Lieutenant-Governor in Council of every province, shall make rules authorizing at any meeting of their respective Legislative Councils the discussion of the annual financial statement of the Governor-General in Council or of their respective local Governments, as the case may be, and of any matter of general public interest, and the asking of questions, under such conditions and restrictions as may be prescribed in the rules applicable to the several Councils.

(2) Such rules as aforesaid may provide for the appointment of a member of any such Council to preside at any such discussion in the place of the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, as the case may be.

(3) Rules under this section, where made by a Governor in Council or by a Lieutenant-Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, shall be subject to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and where made by the Governor-General in Council shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not be subject to alteration or amendment by the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor. All proclamations, regulations, and rules made under this Act shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made.

5. The Governor-General in Council shall, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which and manner in which persons resident in India may be nominated or elected as members of the Legislative Councils of the Governor-General, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors, and as to the qualifications for being, and for being nominated or elected, a member of any such Council and as to any other matter for which regulations are authorized to be made under this Act, and also as to the manner in which those regulations are to be carried into effect.

6.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Indian Councils Act, 1909, and shall be construed with the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, and those Acts, the Indian Councils Act, 1869, the Indian Councils Act, 1871, the Indian Councils Act, 1874, the Indian Councils Act, 1904, and this Act may be cited together as the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 to 1909.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on such date or dates as the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, may appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different purposes and provisions of this Act and for different Councils :

On the date appointed for the coming into operation of this Act as respects any Legislative Council, all the nominated members of the Council then in office shall go out of office, but may, if otherwise qualified, be renominated or be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(3) The enactments mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent mentioned in the third column of that Schedule.

SCHEDULES.

A.D. 1909.

FIRST SCHEDULE.

MAXIMUM NUMBERS OF NOMINATED AND ELECTED MEMBERS OF
LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

Legislative Council.	Maximum Number.
Legislative Council of the Governor-General	60
Legislative Council of the Governor of Fort St. George ...	50
Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of the Punjab	30
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Burma	30
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of any Province which may hereafter be constituted	30

A.D. 1909.

SECOND SCHEDULE.

ENACTMENTS REPEALED.

Session and Chapter.	Short Title.	Extent of Repeal.
24 and 25 Vict., c. 67	The Indian Councils Act, 1861	<p>In section ten the words "not less than six nor more than twelve in number"</p> <p>In section eleven the words "for the term of two years from the date of such nomination"</p> <p>In section fifteen the words from "and the power of making laws and regulations" to "shall be present"</p> <p>In section twenty-nine the words "not less than four nor more than eight in number"</p> <p>In section thirty the words "for the term of two years from the date of such nomination"</p> <p>In section thirty-four the words from "and the power of making laws and regulations" to "shall be present"</p> <p>In section forty-five the words from "and the power of making laws and regulations" to "shall be present"</p>
55 and 56 Vict., c. 14	The Indian Councils Act, 1892	<p>Sections one and two</p> <p>In section four the words "appointed under the said Act or this Act" and paragraph (2)</p>

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS; SHANGHAI.

1. *Calendrier - Annuaire pour* 1909, published by the Siccawei Observatory. This is the seventh issue, and, despite annual enlargements, which now bring it up to a book of 300 pages, with a large number of valuable maps, charts, and tables, the price continues to be one Mexican dollar, which means much less than two shillings, delivered post free in England. An important novelty in the present number is the genealogical table showing the descent of the new Emperor from the Emperor Tao-kwang. Another interesting feature is the very exact account given of the division of China into bishoprics and vicariats-apostolic, together with the personal names of and full details concerning the various incumbents. There is the usual scientific information about the different calendars; about tides, eclipses, the movements of heavenly bodies, and so on. A curious novelty is the new table showing the "establishment" and "unity" of each treaty port and important point of the coast—*i.e.*, the time of high water on the syzygy days (not to be confused with the *age* of the tide), and the height of the place in question above the sea as ascertained by fixed arithmetical relation with the said "establishment." The statistics for 1908 connected with the ports open to commerce, and the places occupied or protected by foreign powers, will be found very interesting to business men; and, in fact, the tastes and needs of every one, missionary, merchant, consul, or diplomat, are catered for in this invaluable little volume, which possesses, above all, the inestimable quality of scientific accuracy in the very highest degree—so far as accuracy is possible to man. The previous issues of the *Annuaire* have each year been noticed in this *Review*.—E. H. PARKER.

JOHN MURRAY ; LONDON.

2. *The Sword of Islam*, by ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E. This popular and yet scholarly account of the religion of Muhammad is a well-written and desirable book of over 500 pages. Commencing with a short biography of the founder and an excellent survey of the history of Arabia in and before his time, it continues with the history of his successors, the Khalifs. The splendid Omaïyades and the fierce Abbasides, the Wars of the Cross, the rule of the Moors in Spain and of the Sultans of Turkey, are treated in sequence, all showing the conquests won by the sword of the followers of Muhammad. This is pretty familiar ground, but less is known to the general reader of the history of the next subject—"the twelve Imams" who ended with "the Mahdi." We learn from this book that the small sect of the Ghair-i-Mahdi do not expect his return, but this is exceptional, and sects acknowledging various Mahdis continue to spring up from time to time. The portion of the book which follows expounds to the reader the rites of the Pilgrimage to the Holy Cities, which as "the Hajj" has still such an influence on the Asiatic and North African world, and this is illustrated with photographs taken by the traveller, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje. An account of the Sunni, or Orthodox, succeeds ; the Hanifites, Malikites, and Shafites all being described. Then comes an examination of the doctrines of the "heretic" Shias, and lastly of the sectaries, such as the Sufi mystics and the Babis, who apparently are alone in thinking that the revelation of the Quran is not for all time. All this will be useful to those who wish to know the inner workings of the world of Islam, and this book ought to make its readers interested in a faith which has spread so widely and has so great a hold upon its followers.—A. F. S.

3. *From Ruwenzori to the Congo : A Naturalist's Journey Across Africa*, by A. F. R. WOLLASTON. With illustrations. The best that can be said for this book is, that it is

well written all through, and, on the whole, pleasant to read. But from an analytical point of view it is certainly disappointing. It may be the journey of a naturalist across Africa, but there is little of natural history in its pages. So, too, while the first part of it purports to be an account of a scientific expedition, there is nothing particularly scientific about Mr. Wollaston's information. The book, in fact, is a hybrid—neither the flesh of science, the soaring fowl of philosophy, the flying fish of literature, nor even the good old red herring of all-round generalities. It is only the "*thin thread of narrative*," which the author affects to despise, as savouring of "*the journal method of writing*," that gives at least some continuity and cohesion to the book. That journal method, believe me, is no bad thing. It makes for truth and accuracy. It is a record, therefore, more reliable than that elusive and elastic (too often, unfortunately, treacherous) instinct, memory. Mental impressions are apt to fade. *Per contra*, they often, indeed, assume gigantic proportions. Exaggeration is first cousin to Treachery. Realities and illusions are always at see-saw or playing hide and go seek with each other in the shadow land of Memory. It is a wild-goose chase of shadow after substance, and *vice versa*. Confusion worse confounded between Lilliput and Brobdingnagian. Captain Cuttle's advice was sound. It is a pity that a greater number of our African travellers are not guided by his maxim. Like the chiel, they always print, but, unlike him, they do not always make notes.

The best part of Mr. Wollaston's book is his description of natural scenery. He has an eye for Nature, the eye of the artist, who not only sees but feels the beauties and glories of this our first great mother. He has, too, something of the poetic element, and gives us some rare and beautiful glimpses of that great continent of gloom and wonder. It is a pity, indeed, that he did not exclusively confine his efforts to the physical aspect of Nature. It is possible that he has to some extent succeeded in removing

the prevailing misconception as regards the country. He has certainly in his pages conveyed something of the "feel" and "smell" of Africa as it appeared to him on hot and hilly roads, on winding waterways, and on cloud-girt mountain. It is equally certain that this feeling left on him a markedly unfavourable impression. It is obvious that for him Africa had neither witchery nor glamour. Rather, that she was a hot, perspiring, unmannerly beast, and a rude, ungrateful monster to boot. A beast who leaves her mark on all interlopers that are weak or foolish enough to intrude within her dark domain. And, after all, why not? She is but fulfilling the law of things. One great temperate world is as impossible as an arctic globe. Climatic, therefore ethnic, zones are inevitable. The beast is but a product of environment. Geography is the real basis of all human development. Africa always has been a land of surprises at every turn. But the most surprising thing about her is the violent antipathy against her sons that is conceived by aggressive and intruding Europeans. And we English, notwithstanding all our altruistic professions, are, if anything, worse than any. The African, to Mr. Wollaston, is not a *persona grata*. The dog or horse are of more consequence. The African is black, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, and thick-skinned — in other words, an offensive and repulsive object, an object made only as a means to an end—a beast of burden when necessary, or to be trodden on when not. A dirty beast, too. But the less Mr. Wollaston says on this point the better; for, taken in the mass, Africans are cleaner than Europeans: so are Hindus. This, again, is no special virtue in their character, but purely a question of geographical environment. The self-importance of the chiefs, too, seems to have annoyed our author. Indeed, it is obvious that in our naturalist's opinion "nature unadorned" is not "adorned the most." "Our black brother, as some people would call them," to quote his own words, are in his eyes an inferior and degraded creature. Mr. Wollaston, whether like Mr. Churchill

or no, a young man in a hurry, was obviously glad to get out of Africa. He makes no allowance for the people; he does not take into consideration the fact that for over three or four thousand years these unfortunates have been at the cruel mercies of Europe and Asia, simply because, like most Europeans, he takes no interest in the subject (except where it is his interest to do so), therefore treats it with absolute indifference and apathy.

It does not seem to have occurred to him that a people who could give so obviously poetic a name as "*The Tear*" to the lovely and mysterious Lake Naivasha; a people who had the artistic eye to recognize in the beautiful position of Entebbe (lying near the end of a long and hilly promontory between two narrow inlets of the lake) so strong a resemblance to that most necessary domestic article of furniture, "*The Chair*," and who could see in the elevated majesty of "*Kilima Mungu*" the hill of the Deity, are a people in whom there is much to be hoped from; a people worth taking by the hand, worth the trouble of uplifting from the low level of darkness into the higher realm of light; a people, remember, who have never yet had the golden opportunity.

For a cultured and travelled man, our author is very insular, and the limitations of insularity are not exhilarating. This is painfully evident in his championship of the Congo Free State administration. Mr. Wollaston would have been wiser if he had omitted this chapter altogether. The reasons are obvious on the face of them. It would be mere waste of time to repeat them. Time after time he gives himself away, and puts first one foot and then the other into the very thick and middle of it. His statement in the preface speaks for itself: "If I appear to give an *unduly favourable impression* of the Congo Free State in Chapter XVIII., it is *because the other side of the case is the only one* which is ordinarily presented to English readers."

This surely is no argument in favour of his side of the case. The Congo Question is not a question of sides.

It is a question of Humanity, of the truth, pure and simple. The Congo is an immense country, and Mr. Wollaston passed but through a mere thin slice of it. He may not have seen the evil, but that does not prove that the evil does not exist. And yet, according to his own statements—too numerous to mention—he saw a good deal of it without being conscious of its enormities.

The sanctity, too, of hospitality, accentuated in his instance, as it was, by the effervescence of champagne taken from "medical comforts," is a sanctity that has existed from the earliest ages, a sanctity as religiously observed by savages as it was by wandering Bedawins or the beauty-loving and artistic Greeks. But this apart, it would, to say the least of it, have been undiplomatic of Mr. Wollaston and his companions to say anything against the Congo officials, "*fortified*," as they were, with "*powerful recommendations from Brussels*." Yet he admits (p. 210) that although they were fortunate in keeping on good terms with some of the officials (who occasionally strained the law a little in matters of exchange, so that they had not any very serious trouble), "*there was always the uncomfortable feeling that they were there only on sufferance, as though they were walking in somebody's private property.*"

And they were, for they were invited yet unwelcome guests. Here, in a word, Mr. Wollaston unconsciously strikes at the very root of the Congo Question. This has been the gist of Mr. Morel's contention all through. His object has been, and is, to get at the truth, to expose the cancer. Mr. Wollaston, if he had tried to condemn, could not have condemned the whole system so well as he has by defending it. Again, the unruliness and hostility of the natives, their being armed to the teeth, the ruthless destruction of their crops by the Belgian escort, the desertion of villages by the inhabitants, their unwillingness to do anything for his party unless backed up by official authority, the armed messengers, the strong escort used by officials, all these things explain themselves. But if Mr. Wollaston

is still incredulous and does not believe in the whole-hearted humanity and disinterestedness of Mr. Morel, it is possible he may place some credence, at all events, in our Consular reports. Let him read the White Paper (Cd. 4, 466) recently issued, which consists mainly of reports from Consul Thesiger and Vice-Consul Armstrong regarding chiefly the taxation and labour imposed on the Congo natives. There at least he will find a plain statement of facts that may cause him to think differently, if not to change his mind. Unquestionably this book is well and pleasantly written from an European aspect. But from the broader standpoint of the higher aspect of humanity, it is saddening. With all its pleasantness, it leaves a very bitter flavour behind. Fortunately for Africans, Mr. Wollaston's adverse criticism is not borne out by the experience of those who have been in close touch and sympathy with them. They have found them beings of a very different colour, not by any means as black as they are painted—not black at all; but of course with black sheep amongst them just as we have. Take them the right way, treat them like men and not as mere brute beasts, and those Africans, who have not been contaminated or corrupted through the baneful influences of civilization are, as a rule, harmless, peace-loving, and inoffensive. But it is only possible to see them as they really are through the humid eye of human sympathy.—
A. G. LEONARD.

3. *Five Years in a Persian Town*, by NAPIER MALCOLM. This book is a very learned screed upon one not very important town in Persia and its people—namely, Yezd. The book is not written on missionary work, but from a missionary point of view. Yezd being only a very small town, and the author having to fill up a volume of some 272 pages, has gone into minute details of the subjects he has chosen to deal with. It is not a book of travel, and the author does not wish the reader to think it is. The subjects chosen being the general effects of house, street, and desert, which meet the Yezdi's eye at every turn.

scenery and scenic surroundings, and study of character. In the description of characters the author has taken special care to preserve the true proportion between good and evil. One wonders what is the use of taking this trouble, for to our mind the Yezdi is no better and no worse than any other Persian, and at any rate he will be better than the native Christian, for so soon as the native gets tampered with by the missionary he forthwith becomes unreliable and artful. For Mr. Malcolm to say that Persia is a land of desert with salt, and desert without salt, is incomprehensible, and displays his little knowledge of the country.

The author has obtained some very beautiful photographs to illustrate the book. There is also a glossary and a coloured map.—A. W. P.

FLEMING H. REVELL AND CO.; LONDON AND
EDINBURGH.

4. *The Jungle Folk of Africa*, by ROBERT H. MILLIGAN. This book contains a colloquially-written account, by an American missionary, of the West Coast of Africa and some of its inhabitants, from knowledge gleaned by the author during a residence of seven years. His first place of residence was Batanga, where he co-operated with the Rev. A. C. Good, of whom he writes with great admiration, and then at Efulen. The natives he came most in contact with were the Bulu, a branch of the Fang race inhabiting Gaboon, and he gives us several chapters on the Fang manners and customs, and also a sympathetic account of the Krubos of the coast. Interesting glimpses are given of the country, the Bush, and of the town of St. Paul de Loanda, and there is a survey of the treatment of Black by White on the coast and in the Congo. The author's own attitude towards the African is summed up in the sympathetic sentence, "Kipling's characterization, 'half child, half devil,' is very apt. But what in the world is more interesting than children—except devils?" Some anecdotes of his mission-work end the book.—A. F. S.

5. *Twenty Years in Persia. A Narrative of Life under the last Three Shahs*, by JOHN G. WISHARD, M.A., M.D. The first few chapters of this volume consist of the usual history, and treats with old matter that has been dealt with over and over again.

The author, an American, brings before the reader, in many instances, the work of the American missionary in Persia. He describes the American Hospital in Teheran, which he had the honour and privilege of founding and conducting for many years, and which is considered by the Persians as one of their own institutions; and its philanthropies are of such a character that men of every creed can have a part in it, notwithstanding the fact that it is a distinctively Christian establishment. Another subject discussed is the opening of the first hospital for women in the Shah's capital, built by the American Mission, the funds being given by a Mohammedan lady of high rank.

If the author could have found space for a few words on the other missions which have been to Persia, and have done good work, it would have been more complete. We are glad to notice, however, that he has not quite forgotten Dr. Odling, who laboured so arduously for over thirty years in the country, and who was never known to fail to attend the poorest native during the terrible time of the 1892 cholera without any kind of payment, and this in addition to his usual heavy duties at the Imperial Bank and Indo-European staffs. The author barely does justice to his colleague, Mr. Esselstein, when he merely makes the remark that he went out shooting with him. Everyone who remembers the 1892 cholera knows perfectly well that Mr. Esselstein was of the greatest assistance to Mr. Wishard during that time, for he in company with Mr. Jewson stayed the whole time at the Mission nursing the patients, etc. We are afraid Persia can never again be the pleasant country that we knew it under the reign of Nasr-ed-din Shah, and we think our sympathies should go out to the present Shah, for Western civilization will

certainly not make for happiness of the people there. Persia can never again be so peaceful a country ; it was governed badly in the old time, but it will be infinitely worse for the Persians in the future.

The book is well printed, and contains some beautiful illustrations. It also embodies a map, together with an index and a glossary.—A. W. P.

SEELEY AND CO., LIMITED ; 38, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
LONDON.

6. *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia.* An account of an Englishwoman's Eight Years' Residence amongst the Women of the East, by M. E. HUME-GRIFFITH, with Narratives of Experiences in both Counties by A. HUME-GRIFFITH, M.D., D.P.H. The greater part of this work is written on Mosul and Turkish Arabia. It is quite a fresh venture, and supplies a want long felt. It gives by far the best account of those curious people the Yezidees. The book is well written, and no opportunity is allowed to pass of improving the occasion with a quotation or homily ; whilst in the numerous chapters the book might have been written twenty years ago, for things do not seem to have altered much since 1890, not even the tooth-brush at the Mehman Khaneh's. The book is written in two parts, and its pages are adorned with beautiful illustrations from photographs. There is much valuable information to be obtained by its perusal, and it will take its place in the same category as Mrs. Bishop's splendid works of the country.—A. W. P.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. IX.: *Indo-Aryan Family, Central Group.* Part II.: *Specimens of the Rājāsthānī and Gujarātī*, collected and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (retired). (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1908.) This volume adds yet another to those already published under the "Linguistic Survey." It deals with the Aryan family, giving specimens of the Rājāsthānī and Gujarātī where spoken, language boundaries, relationship to neighbouring languages, dialects, etc. The book is well got up, and the specimen of the Aryan type is well brought out.

The Key of the Hearts of Beginners. A set of tales written down in Persian by BIBI BROOKE, and translated into English by ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE. (London: Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, W.C., 1908.) The translator, in a short preface, tells us that these tales were put together more than 100 years ago by a Hindustānī lady, a Musālmānī, who was the wife of William Augustus Brooke, one of the several Brookes then in the East India Company's service. They are amusing and very interesting. Our space does not permit us to give more than one specimen; it is titled, "The Clever Boy." A Darwesh asked a boy whether he had ever seen the Lord God, and the boy without a word flung at him a clod of earth, which hurt him so badly that he cried out, and angrily demanded why he was given a blow in place of a civil answer. "The clod answered your question," said the boy. "I see no answer in it," replied the man. "It must have been by the Divine will that I threw it, for it really answers you. It hurt you; where is the pain? Show it me." "Silly child! pain has no visible form." "Neither has the Lord God," rejoined the boy. "Your pain is hidden in your arm, and just so He is hidden in His creation. No one can

see Him, though He can see all men. He manifests Himself through His worshippers. Your question was unreasoning; the clod was the unreasoning answer to it." On getting this neat rebuke the Darwesh walked away.

The perusal of the stories are instructive, and from time to time beget amusement and ethical sentiments and impressions well worthy of attention.

Doctor Lee, by MARSHALL BROOMHALL, B.A., with a preface by WALTER B. SLOAN. (London: Morgan and Scott, 12, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.; China Inland Mission, Newington Green, N.) This little memoir is a splendid tribute, by a learned writer, to a Chinese Christian, by whose devoted work in the Church in China much good resulted.

The Marches of the Mantze, by J. H. EDGAR, with a preface by CECIL POLHILL. (China Inland Mission, London.) The Marches of the Mantze is the Chinese designation of that large tract of country situated to the west of Szechwan and east of Tibet. Of this country little is known. As this district is now entering upon a new era in its history, this book, written by one who has resided there for many years, cannot fail to be of interest.

Saints of Islam, by HUSAIN R. SAYANI. (Luzac and Co., London; 1908.) This little book is intended to give briefly some of the main features of the religious philosophy of Islam along with a brief account of some of the interesting events of the lives of three of its great saints. The author goes into the moral character and greatness of mind of the three saints, and puts before the reader some lessons of true philosophy. From this standpoint the book is very instructive, and should find its way into the shelves of all true lovers of philosophy.

Tales of the Caliphs, by CLAUD FIELD, author of "The Confessions of El Ghazzai." (John Murray, London.) The importance of this handy book, which is one of the "Series of the East," may be gathered by the list of contents: "Al Mansur, the Builder of Bagdad"; "Al Mahdi"; "Haroun

al Rashid"; "Haroun al Rashid and the Blacksmith"; "Haroun al Rashid and Abu'l Kasim of Basra"; "Al Mamoun"; "The Clerk who became Caliph of Cordova."

The Watkins Manual of Exposure and Development, by ALFRED WATKINS. (The Watkins Meter Company, Hereford; fourth edition, 1908.) This concise little handbook continues in good demand as a practical book on "Exposure by Actinometer and Development by Time." It contains many useful hints for the advanced as well as the beginner, and by the distinct and simplified outlines of the different questions dealt with, the novice can easily acquire the necessary knowledge to produce a photograph. The work deals with the thermo-development, a method distinct from factorial development, as it does not require a dark-room light. The book contains 138 pages, together with an index, and is beautifully illustrated. It should be in the hands of all photographers.—G. L.

My Father's Business; or, A Brief Sketch of the Life and Work of Agnes Gibson, by MARIAN H. FISHE, with a preface by the Rev. J. STUART HOLDEN, M.A. (China Inland Mission, London.) This is a memoir of a graphic record of the life of one of that company of honourable women who in every age has given her life to the mission in China.

Misnaic Hebrew and its Relation to Biblical Hebrew and to Aramaic. A Grammatical Study by the Rev. M. H. SEGAL, B.A., reprinted from the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for July, 1908. (Horace Hart, Printer to the University, Oxford, 1909.) This is a grammatical study by the learned author, and we can recommend it to all students of the languages embraced.

An Indian Study of Love and Death, by the SISTER NIVEDITA, of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda. (Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, 1908.) The contents of this book goes far to show the able way in which the author has dealt with her subject.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), November and December, 1908. January, 1909 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London);—*A History of Gujarat*, by Mir Abū Turāb Valī, edited with introduction and notes by E. Denison Ross, PH.D. (Calcutta: printed at the Baptist Mission Press, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909);—*The Encyclopædia of Islam*, a dictionary of the geography, ethnography, and biography of the Mohammedan people, prepared by a number of leading Orientalists under the supervision of Dr. M. Th. Houtsma and Dr. M. Seligsohn, No. III. (Leyden: late E. J. Brill; London: Luzac and Co., 1908).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Sermons and Addresses*, by Hermann Gollancz (Unwin Bros., London);—*The Government of South Africa*, vols. i. and ii. (published by Central News Agency, Ltd., South Africa);—*Kitāb Mu'id An-niam Wa-Mubid An-niqam*, by Tāj-ad-dīn Abū Nasr 'Abd-al-

Wahhāb As-subkī (Luzac and Co., London);—*The Grateful Dead*, by Gordon Hall Gerould (David Nutt, 57, Long Acre, London);—*Analysis of the Evolution of Musical Form*, by Margaret H. Glyn (Longmans, Green and Co., London, Bombay, and Calcutta);—*A Practical Arabic Grammar*, Part II., compiled by Colonel A. O. Green, P.S.C. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press);—*Yun-nan, the Link between India and the Yangtze*, by Major H. R. Davies (Cambridge: at the University Press);—*Asia*, vol. ii., *Southern and Western Asia*, by A. H. Keane, LL.D., F.R.G.S. (Edward Stanford, London);—*The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, especially its Relations to Israel*, by Robert William Rogers (Luzac and Co., London);—*Effects of War on Property*, by Almá Latifi, M.A., LL.D. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London);—*John Chinaman and a Few Others*, by E. H. Parker (John Murray, London);—*Oral Traditions from the Indus*, by Major J. F. A. McNair R.A., C.M.G., and Thomas Lambert Barlow (Cranbourne Press, Brighton).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL. — Considerable discussions have taken place in India and at Home in connection with Lord Morley's Indian Bill. (See the text of this Bill, as it has passed the House of Lords, under our "Correspondence and Notes.")

The concessions to the Indian Army, mentioned in the King-Emperor's message to the Princes and peoples of India, came into force on January 1 of this year. It is estimated that the increases in the pay and allowances of the Indian Army will cost altogether sixty-three lakhs of rupees (about £420,000) per annum. The total includes forty-two lakhs (£280,000) for the native ranks, fourteen lakhs (£93,000) for the British officers, and seven lakhs (£47,000) for the supply of free firewood.

The Indian National Congress was opened at Madras on December 28. Two thousand delegates and visitors were present. Dr. Rosh Behari Ghose was elected President. The presidential address expressed emphatic approval of the projected scheme of Lord Morley's reforms, for which, he declared, the whole nation was grateful. In referring to the split with the Extremists, Dr. Ghose said that the Congress had refused to purchase unity at the cost of its loyalty to the Empire. He condemned the increase in military expenditure and the partition of Bengal.

The Industrial Conference in connection with the Indian National Congress was opened on December 26. Sir Arthur Lawley, Governor of Madras, and Lady Lawley, were present to hear the presidential address, which urged the development and protection of Indian industries. This, the President declared, was true Swadeshism.

Lord Minto returned to Calcutta on February 22 on the conclusion of his short tour in Assam. The trip was marred by an accident to the Viceroy's Military Secretary, Colonel

Victor Brooke, who had his arm fractured by the charge of a rhinoceros against an elephant on which he was riding.

Numerous cases of sedition have come before the Government and the courts during the past quarter. Several have been found guilty, and sentences of punishment have accordingly been passed. The unrest and conspiracy in Bengal has been proved to be of long standing, and much more serious than was at first supposed. The Government, by aid of special detectives, have exposed the operations of the conspirators. Numerous important documents have been discovered.

Asutosh Biswas, Public Prosecutor at Alipur, who had been assisting in the trial of the Alipur anarchists, was murdered by a Bengali student. The murder was committed in full view of the public, and caused great sensation in the court. A few hours after this outrage took place, two bombs were thrown at the train by which Mr. Hume, another Public Prosecutor, was travelling in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta. This makes the third occasion during the past six months that bombs have been thrown at trains by which Mr. Hume has been a traveller.

More than a hundred ruling chiefs and hereditary nobles of ancient family in the Punjab have formed a political association, the object of which is "to support the British Government and defend the immemorial supremacy of the aristocracy against the disintegrating forces of the unrest let loose by ambitious demagogues who have sprung up from obscurity."

Owing to a decrease in the railway earnings, the Budget for the year ending March shows a deficit of two crores of rupees (£1,333,000).

The trade of British India with adjacent countries showed an increase of about forty-seven and a half lakhs during the six months ending with September last, as compared with the corresponding period of 1907. The main development of trade was with Nepaul, the total value of the trade with

that State being $225\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, as compared with 179 lakhs. The Central Provinces and Berar grow $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of India's cotton crop, and last season the crop was a good one. While the area sown was slightly below that of the previous year, the outturn is estimated to be 29 per cent. better—namely, 767,000 bales, as compared with 595,000 bales.

Mr. Lal Mohan Das becomes a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta in the place of Mr. Justice Saroda Charan Mitra.

Upon the retirement on March 31 of Sir Francis Maclean, Sir Lawrence Hugh Jenkins, K.C.I.E., becomes Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta.

Right Hon. Sir John Edge, formerly Chief Justice of the High Court of the North-West Provinces, India, is now a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., has become a member of the Council of India in succession to Sir Lawrence Jenkins, and the latter takes up the office of Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta.

The dignity of a Knight of the United Kingdom has been conferred upon (Rai Bahadur) Pratul Chandra Chatterji, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, lately a Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab; and on Basil Scott, Esq., Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, Bombay.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—On the occasion of a Durbar on December 30, 1908, the birthday anniversary of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Dhrangadra, His Highness announced the remission of the fees of the English schools. Education is, therefore, now quite free in this State.

The Maharaja Scindiah has recently sanctioned the construction of twelve tanks for irrigation purposes, at an approximate cost of Rs. 3,28,000. They will vary in size from 10 to 254 million cubic feet capacity, giving a total storage of 623 million cubic feet. A system of canal distributaries will afterwards be created.

The Secretary of State for India has forwarded to the Lord Mayor a copy of the following letter addressed by His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to Sir Charles Steuart Bayley, the British Resident :

"PURANI HAWAILI,

"HYDERABAD, DECCAN,

"December 12, 1908.

"MY DEAR SIR CHARLES BAYLEY,

"I learn from newspapers that a meeting, presided over by the Lord Mayor of London, was held at the Mansion House to express sympathy with me and my people in the distress recently caused by the floods of the Musi. I am much touched by the news, and write to ask you to be so kind as to convey my most sincere thanks to the Lord Mayor, Sir David Barr, Mr. Buchanan, and others who attended the meeting. I am sure my people are as grateful as myself to be assured of the kindly sympathy of the people of England.

"Yours sincerely,

"MIR MAHBOOB ALI KHAN."

INDIA : FRONTIER.—A gang, led by the notorious raider Multan, was surrounded in January on British territory, and Multan himself and another raider were killed. Six others were captured, among whom was the Shinwari, who shot Major Coope Smith in the Khaibar during the frontier operations of 1908.

A gang of Khost Khallak raiders recently entered Jardrai, in the Kohat district. A native officer, on hearing of this, collected twenty-one military police and travelled to the spot, and found sixty of the raiders in a hut. They refused to surrender, and a fight ensued, in which eleven of the raiders were killed and one taken prisoner. The police lost one killed and two wounded.

The murderers of Lieutenant A. F. Macaulay have been captured. They are local thieves.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Turkish drill instructors employed by the Ameer have given every satisfaction. They have

given instruction to the Kabul garrison, and the latter are imparting their knowledge to the various cantonments.

SIAM.—A treaty between Great Britain and Siam in regard to the Federated Malay States was signed at Singapore on March 10. By this treaty Great Britain, in return for territorial and other concessions, is to modify her extra-territorial rights in Siam proper. The concessions to Great Britain includes the States of Kelantan, Trengganu, and Kedah. Provision will also be made for the extension of the Pahang railway along the coast.

PERSIA.—The situation in Persia has not improved. Tabriz is effectually blockaded. Food and fuel is scarce; trade is at a standstill. The difficulty of procuring food is affecting the population, and there is great discouragement among the Nationalists. The roads throughout the south of Persia are unsafe. The trade on the coast is also at a standstill. At Ispahan the Bakhtiari are busy, and Samsem is collecting arms and recruits from the surrounding districts. Ighbal-ed-Dowleh, the ex-Governor, left Ispahan on January 27 for Teheran, escorted by forty Bakhtiari. Sardar Mutizid, the Shah's nominee for the Governorship, left Teheran for Ispahan, but on reaching Kum he had to return, not daring to proceed further.

Mirza Mehdi Khan Mushir-ul-Mulk, Persian Chargé d'Affaires in London, is now Minister Resident.

Ala-es-Sultaneh has resigned, and Saad-ed-Dowleh has accepted the Foreign portfolio.

H. G. Chick has been appointed to be His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Bushire, and W. A. Smart Vice-Consul at Teheran.

Shua-es-Sultaneh, brother of the Shah, who landed at Resht on February 16 from Europe, has been kidnapped by revolutionaries, who demand a ransom of £1,000.

Reports received in Teheran on February 17 recorded a severe earthquake on January 23 in the Province of Luristan. In the districts of Burujird and Selahor, although sparsely populated, sixty villages were wholly or partially

destroyed, whilst several villages were engulfed completely. The loss of life is said to be between five and six thousand, and twice as many cattle.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—The report of the Commission to inquire into the opium question has been published, and particular reference will be made to it in our next number.

The railway through Johore connecting Singapore with Penang was opened by the Sultan of Johore on December 12, in the presence of Sir John Anderson, the Governor of the Straits Settlements. The line opens up the rubber and tin producing areas of the Federated Malay States, and will have a vast influence upon their development. The cost of the line is about £1,283,333.

The Annual Report of the Resident-General of the Federated Malay States and Perak, Silangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang for the year 1907 states that, in spite of trade being adversely affected by the depression prevailing throughout the East, the revenue of the States during the year exceeds that of the preceding year by £314,054. The actual receipts of £5,758,749 were £750,000 in excess of the estimated revenue, and included a special receipt of £270,918, being the gain on the realization of the Tangen Pagar Dock shares held by the Government.

CHINA.—An Imperial decree reaffirms the decision to convoke a Parliament and to proclaim a Constitution nine years hence.

Yuan Shih-kai, the great Viceroy of Chi-li, has been dismissed from all his offices as the result of a Manchu cabal.

The Telegraph Convention between China and Japan, which was signed in Tokio on October 12, 1908, and the supplementary agreement, signed on November 7, were ratified on January 12. The Convention settles the question of a cable between the Japanese leased territory in Manchuria and Chi-fu, and the question of the Japanese telegraph lines in Manchuria outside the leased area. Japan

transfers to China her telegraph lines in Manchuria outside the railway zone.

The International Opium Commission was opened in Shanghai on February 1. The Viceroy, Tuan-fang, in a speech, welcomed the delegates. He declared that marked progress had been made in the suppression of the opium habit. A Government monopoly of the drug was necessary, and he urged the Commissioners to recommend that this should be provided for in any future adjustment of treaties. Bishop Brent, representing the United States, was appointed chairman of the Commission.

An Imperial edict has been issued in Peking creating a naval department for China, with Prince Su as chief and Prince Ching as adviser.

JAPAN.—Mr. Kato, the Japanese Ambassador to the Court of St. James, arrived in London on February 11, and was received at Buckingham Palace by the King on February 18.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—With the view of reducing the influx of Koreans and Chinese into the Amur territory, it is proposed to impose a residential tax of 10s. annually on adults, and 5s. on minors between the ages of ten and fifteen. Children under ten will be exempt from the tax. As the Koreans and Chinese have to pay their own national foreign passports as well, it is expected that the new tax will deter many of them from entering Russian territory. Strict medical supervision will be exercised over the immigrants, and no crippled or diseased Koreans and Chinese will be admitted.

AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.—The Draft Act for the Constitution of South Africa, containing 153 clauses and a schedule on the Protectorate, was drawn up at a conference held at Cape Town in January last.

Pretoria has been chosen as the seat of the administrative offices of the Government, and Cape Town is to be the capital of United South Africa.

The Constitution will be submitted to special sessions of

the Parliaments of the several Colonies. Later, the Closer Union Convention will assemble again to consider amendments. Afterwards it will be finally passed as an Act of the Imperial Parliament on the petitions of the various South African Parliaments concerned. If no difficulties present themselves, union may be expected by next year.

The finance clauses constitute one of the most striking unification features of the Constitution. All colonial assets, mining rights, and debts of every kind, are to be pooled subject to debt conditions. A consolidated revenue fund is to be established. A Commission is to be appointed to inquire into the financial relations of the provinces under the Union. The Consolidated Fund will pay, in the meanwhile, the education expenses of the provinces, calculated on their present Budgets. There is to be a special railway and harbour fund for receiving railway earnings and appropriations. It is provided that "the railways, etc., shall be administered on business principles, due regard being had to agricultural and industrial development, and to the promotion by means of cheap transport of the settlement of an agricultural and industrial population on the inland portions of the Union."

The Provinces are to retain the names of the present colonies, except that the Orange River Colony is to be the Orange Free State Province.

The trial of Dinizulu has at last come to an end. He was found guilty of harbouring rebels and members of Bambata's family. He was sentenced to four years imprisonment, to run from date of arrest fifteen months ago. He was found not guilty of the other charges against him. He was also fined £100 or one year's further imprisonment. The expenses of the Crown in the trial amounted to nearly £10,000, and those of the defence are said to be very considerable.

The Right Rev. Dr. Carter, Bishop of Pretoria, has been elected Archbishop of Cape Town.

The Premier of Cape Colony, speaking at King Williams-

town on March 4, said that the financial position of the colony had improved. He hoped that an equilibrium would be obtained in 1909.

RHODESIA.—The British South Africa Company has appointed Mr. L. A. Wallace, Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia, Acting Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia, in succession to the late Mr. R. Codrington.

The gold output for 1908 was £2,526,007, being an increase of £347,122 over 1907.

BASUTOLAND.—A Mission of Basuto chiefs, the outcome of the movement for closer union in South Africa, the Basutos having expressed anxiety as to the future status of their country, arrived in London during the last quarter. They presented a petition to H.M. King Edward on February 18. The petition referred to three matters :

1. A request for the retention of the National Council, a gathering representative of the natives as a whole, which meets annually at the capital under the presidency of the Resident Commissioner.

2. The preservation of native lands. At present the whole of the land belongs to the Basuto nation, and no one either white or native, can acquire special rights, although licenses are granted under special conditions.

3. The prohibition of the entry of liquor into Basutoland. At present no liquor is sold anywhere in the Protectorate, and white men are only allowed under permit to import a very limited quantity for personal use.

The schedule of the draft of the South African Constitution relating to the Protectorate recommends the continuance of the Native Council, the preservation of native lands, and the continuance of the present embargo on liquor.

The King promised the members of the Mission his best attention to their requests.

On February 25 the chiefs went to the Colonial Office to receive from Lord Crewe the King's reply, which they had to carry to their paramount chief Letsea. They were also

informed that the King would be graciously pleased to accept a Basuto pony, which the paramount chief wished to present to His Majesty. The chiefs were presented each with a portrait of His Majesty.

During their stay the members of the Mission visited Windsor on February 19, and laid a wreath on the tomb of Queen Victoria. They were shown over the Castle, and afterwards entertained to luncheon. They paid a visit to the manufacturing towns in the North of England, at which they expressed themselves as highly instructed. They also paid a visit to the House of Commons, where they viewed the Westminster Hall, listened to a debate from the Strangers' Gallery, and visited the Crypt and the Terrace.

The King's reply will not be disclosed according to etiquette until the same has actually been received by the paramount chief. The Mission left England on February 27.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—Liang Lan Hsun has been appointed Consul-General of China at Melbourne.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Lord Chelmsford, Governor of Queensland, has been appointed Governor of New South Wales, in succession to Admiral Sir Harry Rawson, who is retiring on May 26, 1909.

VICTORIA.—Sir Thomas Bent resigned the Premiership of Victoria, and is succeeded by Mr. John Murray.

QUEENSLAND.—The excess of revenue over expenditure for the last eight months is £178,000, as compared with £410,000 during the previous corresponding period.

NEW ZEALAND.—The exports in 1908 amounted to £16,000,000, a decrease of £3,750,000 as compared with those of the previous year; and the imports to £17,000,000, an increase of £168,000. The reduced prices of wool accounted for more than half the decline in the exports, and the reduced output of other important products was responsible for a loss of £1,500,000.

The population of the Dominion on December 31 last

was estimated as follows: Europeans, 960,000; Maoris, 49,000; Cook Islanders, 12,000. There was an increase of Europeans during the year of 31,000, being at the rate of 3.36 per cent. The excess of immigration over departures was 14,000—a record.

JAMAICA.—Sir Sydney Olivier, the Governor, in opening the Legislature on February 23, expressed satisfaction at the financial position and prospects. He anticipates a surplus of £100,000 at the close of the present year, besides a fund of £60,000 to provide against disasters. Part of the surplus is to be spent on works of public utility. A further surplus of £23,000 is expected next year.

Mr. P. C. Cork, C.M.G., Administrator of St. Lucia, has been appointed Secretary of the Island of Jamaica in succession to the late H. Clarence Bourne, C.M.G.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—A Conference was held at Washington on January 25 between Mr. Bryce and Mr. Root on the Canadian and Newfoundland Fisheries Treaty. During the consultations mutual concessions were made, which finally produced a draft, which included as one of the concessions to Newfoundland, suggested by Sir Robert Bond, the insertion in the treaty, as one of the points to be referred to arbitration, the question of the right of American fishermen to fish in the inlets of the west coast of Newfoundland. A concession was also made by the United States with regard to the list of laws and regulations which are to be submitted to arbitration. These alterations satisfied all parties. The amended treaty was referred to London and the two Colonies. The Newfoundland Cabinet on February 4 agreed to the above.

The Bond Cabinet vacated office on March 3, and a new Ministry, with Sir E. Morris as Premier, without portfolio, was sworn in on the same day.

CANADA.—An absolute agreement has been reached on the subject of the control and division of the waterways along the boundary between Canada and the United

States, and a treaty to this effect was signed on January 11 by Mr. Root and Mr. Bryce.

The reports from all over the country go to show the remarkable recovery Canada made during 1908 from the depression of the previous year. The harvest realized £86,506,600 from an area of 27,505,663 acres. The western provinces produced a crop of wheat worth £14,484,800. The value of all the field crops in the various provinces were as follows: Prince Edward Island, £1,880,600; Nova Scotia, £4,016,600; New Brunswick, £3,608,400; Quebec, £16,178,000; Ontario, £37,061,600; Manitoba, £13,332,000; Saskatchewan, £7,522,800; Alberta, £2,904,400.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Major A. P. Shewell, 123rd Outram's Rifles, Indian Army;—Major C. H. B. Clark, Indian Army;—William Wybrow Robertson, late Bombay Civil Service;—Frank Richard Clough, District Superintendent of Police;—General George Hutchinson Roy, late Bengal Army;—William Morris Beaufort, Bengal Civil Service (retired);—Lord Windsor, Extra Aide-de-Camp to the Viceroy of India;—Captain John Henry Baldwin, J.P., late Bengal Army;—James Robert Reed, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service;—Arthur Matcham Davies, Lieutenant-General (late Indian Army);—Robert Bacton Stewart, Indian Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles E. Brown, R.A. (Afghan war 1880);—Colonel Folliott Churchill, of the Indian Army (Burmese expedition 1886-87, Chin Hue expedition with the Tashon column 1901);—Lieutenant Duncan Robert Wolseley Gordon, 7th Gurkha Rifles; Major-General Edward Harrison, late Bengal Artillery;—Colonel William J. A. Beatson, R.A., A.A.G., India Headquarters Staff;—Rev. W. H. Ball, late Church Missionary Society, Calcutta;—Captain J. W. Garwood, the Royal Scots, and Adjutant of the G.I.P. Railway Volunteers;—Surgeon-General John Edward Tason, Indian Medical Service (retired) (Indian Mutiny, North-West Frontier expedition 1885, North-West Frontier 1860);—Major-General D. S. Warren (Crimea, Afghan war 1880, Sudan campaign 1885);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Steele, D.S.O. (Afghan campaign 1879-80, Egyptian war 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85, West Coast Africa 1893-94, Gambia 1884);—Rev. John Husband, F.R.C.S.E., C.I.E.;—Colonel C. O. Lord, late Bombay Staff Corps (Indian campaign 1858);—Colonel P. R. Legh, late of 116th Mahrattas;—Ernest George Birch, late Judge of the High Court of Calcutta;—H. D. Gordon, 1st Battalion Goorkha Rifles;—Major T. Baker (Hazara expedition

1888);—Major E. L. G. Berger, Indian Army (North China campaign 1900-01);—Major Welby Francis Montresor, late 10th Hussars and 17th Bengal Cavalry;—Surgeon-Major Thomas John Tucker (Indian Mutiny);—Major William Greer Turle (Indian Mutiny);—Captain Turner Severin Machray Woolley, late 22nd Bengal Lancers;—Major Walter Hood Orr, C.I.E., Indian Medical Service;—Rev. Robert Lawson, of Agra, India;—Albert Edward Silk, I.P.W.D., Calcutta;—John Nugent, retired Indian civil servant, Assistant Magistrate and Collector and Deputy Commissioner North-Western Provinces 1891-99;—Colonel William Malcolm Leckie, late Bombay Army;—George Frederick Campbell Mackenzie, C.B., A.A.G. 8th Division, India;—William Niven, Surgeon-Major Indian Army;—Charles Henry Morse, late Captain Bombay Army;—Major-General William Kincaid, late of the Madras Staff Corps;—Hugh Fletcher Palin, Deputy-Inspector General Punjab Police;—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George King, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., LL.D. (entered Bengal Medical Service 1865; in 1871 appointed to the Chair of Botany at the Medical College);—Charles John Ponsonby, formerly of H.M. Woods and Forest Department in India;—Lieutenant Aulay Ferguson Macaulay, R.E., Surazai, North-West Frontier Province, India;—Major-General John Rootsey Strutt, late of the Indian Army;—Surgeon-General James Davidson, late Indian Army;—Surgeon-General Thomas Tarrant (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, South Africa);—Lieutenant-Colonel John Burn-Murdoch (Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian war 1882);—Hicks Withers (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne (Crimea, Lucknow);—Captain William Agar Lander Lethbridge, youngest son of Sir Roper Lethbridge;—Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Hume, K.C.B., G.C.B. (Crimea, Bhootan expedition 1865, Southern Afghanistan Field Force 1880-81);—Major-General Frederick Edward Sotheby (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, China campaign 1860, Ashantee war);—Captain William Corden Seton (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant H. M. V. Barren, late Aide-de-camp to the Governor of Ceylon;—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Montgomerie Nedham, late Indian Army;—Lieutenant Archibald Gwatkin, killed in action Zhob Valley, North-West Frontier of India;—Major-General J. R. Oliver (Indian campaign 1857-58, Bhootan operations 1864-65);—Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. Darnell, late Indian Army;—Major Lionel Lewis Parker, of the Indian Army;—Major-General William Gordon, Bengal Staff Corps;—Lieutenant C. H. Harris (Crimean war, Indian Mutiny, Afghan war);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. P. Noon (Afghan war 1879);—Lieutenant E. W. E. Milman, 72nd Punjabis (South African war);—Major Carter, 14th Sikhs;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. F. Tuohy (Afghan war 1880-81);—Captain W. H. Scales (Burmese expedition 1886-87).

March 15, 1909.

Periodical

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